Life and Times of Maharaja Chhatrasal Bundela

Bhagwan Das Gupta

Foreword by Jadunath Sarkar

Radiant Publishers

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.N.	*Alamgir Nama*
Aur.	*History of Aurangzib* by Jadu Nath Sarkar
Akh.	Akhbarats
B.M.	*Britant Muktavali* (Pranami Scripture)
B.V.	*Bundel Vaibhav* by Gaurishankar Dwivedi
Bernier	*Bernier's Travels*
Bhimsen	Bhimsen, *Nuskha-i-Dilkasha* (English translation by Jadu Nath Sarkar, Maharashtra Archives, Bombay, 1972)
Ch.Gr.	*Chhatrasal Granthavali* edited by Viyogi Hari
Ch.P.	*Chhatra Prakash*
Ch.S.	Chhatrasal
Dixit	Bhagirath Prasad Dixit, *Bhusan Vimarsa*
Dighe	V.G. Dighe, *Peshwa Baji Rao I and Maratha Expansion*
E & D	Elliot & Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*
Gibbs	H.A.R. Gibbs, *Ibn Batuta*
Gore	Gore Lal Tiwari, *Bundelkhand ka Itihas*
Gaz	*Gazetteer*
Ind. Ant	*Indian Antiquary*
Iswar	Iswar Das, *Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri*
J.A.S.B.	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
J.H.R.	Jaipur Hindi Records
Jag.	Jagat Raj
Kamwar	*Tarikh-i-Chagtai*
L.M.	*Later Mughals* by William Irvine
M.A.	*Maasir-i-Alamgiri*

M.U.	*Maasir-ul-Umra*
Mannucci	Mannucci, *Storia do Mogor*
M. in Malwa	"Marathas in Malwa," Article by Raghubir Singh published in *Sardesai Commemoration Volume*, 1938.
M. in Transition	"Malwa in Transition" by Raghubir Singh
M.C.	*Mehraj Charitra* (Pranami Scripture)
Nag. Prach. Patrika	*Nagari Pracharini Patrika*
N.H.M.	*New History of the Marathas* by Sardesai
N.S.	New Style A.D. Dates
Pratipal	Thakur Pratipal Singh, *Bundelkhand ka Itihas*
Pad	*Padshahnamah* by Abdul Hamid Lahori
P.R.	Panna Records
Pogson	W.R. Pogson, *A History of the Boondelas*
Rajwade	Rajawde *Marathyanchya Itihasanchi Sadhanen*, Vol. III
Shyam Lal	Shyam Lal, *Tarikh-i-Bundelkhand*
S.M.	Sri Raghubir Library, Sitamau
Siyar	Siyar-ul-Mutakherin
Shukla	Ram Chandra Shukla, *Hindi Sahitya ka Itihas*
Sheo Das	Sheo Das, *Munawwar-i-Kalam*
S.P.D.	Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar
Tod	Tod's, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*
Vir Kavya	*Vir Kavya* by Udai Narayan Tiwari
Warid	*Mirat-ul-waridat*
Watters	Watters, *Yuan Chwang's travels in India*

FOREWORD

Dr. Bhagwan Das Gupta's life of Chhatrasal Bundela is a sound piece of historical research and will stand as a definitive authority on this particular corner of mediaeval Indian history. The author has followed the right principles of history writing; he has gone to the primary sources in different languages, and also made minute local investigation with the result of discovering some very important original materials, such as Chhatrasal's letters to his son (in the Panna State archives) and the secretly guarded scriptures of the Pran-nathi sect. His patient tracing of hundreds of small places in Bundelkhand should serve as an example to other workers on our mediaeval period.

There is no irrelevant digression, no empty wordiness in Dr. Gupta's presentation of the subject, and he has observed due proportion in his narrative.

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PREFACE

Maharaja Chhatrasal Bundela needs no introduction to the students of Indian History. And yet few outside the land of his birth can imagine how the passage of time and the fond memory of the people of Bundelkhand have turned Chhatrasal into an inspiring legend, nay a semidivinity to the superstitious. I have with my mother's milk been fed on the awful veneration for this legendary hero as a soldier whose shadow seems to haunt every hill and ravine, solitary glen of impenetrable forests of Bundelkhand and the busy thoroughfares of Panna and Chhatarpur. Everything has changed except the landscape, the hard and unyielding soil of Bundelkhand that no longer produces the soldier and his steel, but diamonds and half-starved peasants with the predatory propensity of old.

With growing years grows the patriotic fire of children of Bundelkhand to whom Lal Kavi's *Chhatra Prakash* is almost gospel truth about Chhatrasal. At the University stage one naturally becomes a sceptic about popular heroes who fare ill under the search-light of modern research. I started my study of the career of Chhatrasal, because I had the advantage of knowing the terrain of Bundelkhand, an intimate knowledge of the legends if not the history of Chhatrasal and also opportunities of access to old archives in possession of the ruling families of Bundelkhand. Though it is difficult to escape from personal bias particularly for a novice, I have tried to rehabilitate Chhatrasal as a historical figure shorn of legends and half-truths. This thesis on the Bundela War of Independence and Maharaja Chhatrasal Bundela is the first attempt at a scientific account of his life and work based on original

sources Illustrious writers like Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Rao Bahadur G.S. Sardesai have dealt incidentally with the history of Bundelkhand as a subsidiary theme of Mughal and Maratha history. They made for us foot-tracks as it were through the jungle of the history of Bundelkhand. I have followed these tracks, tried to widen them and add an inside view of the character and personality of Chhatrasal.

The present state of our knowledge with regard to the career of Chhatrasal and his struggle for independence, is restricted to a few authentic works of modern writers, chief among which are those of William Irvine and Sir Jadunath Sarkar. The former in his paper published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1878) on the Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad dealt most exhaustively for the first time with the contest between Muhammad Khan Bangash and Chhatrasal Bundela for supremacy in eastern Bundelkhand. Later in his more famous work, *Later Mughals* (edited and supplemented by Sir Jadunath Sarkar), Irvine made another attempt at the Bundela history previous to Chhatrasal's conflict with the Bangash, and by his detailed and authentic account of the activities of Champat Rai, made a definite contribution to it. In the same work, he traced in brief the relations of Chhatrasal with the later Mughal Emperors. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, in his monumental work on *Aurangzib*, also dealt with the careers of Champat Rai and Chhatrasal, along with the rebellion of Jujhar Singh. Maharaj Kumar Raghuvir Sinhji too made valuable references to the activities of Chhatrasal in Malwa during the reigns of Aurangzib and his successors, in his important work "Malwa in Transition" and in the article entitled "Marathas in Malwa" published in *Sardesai Commemoration volume* (1938). Among the Maratha historians Dr. S.G. Sardesai and Dr. Dighe are the important ones, who threw light on the relations of Chhatrasal with the Marathas, with special reference to the assistance of Peshwa Bajirao I to the Bundela chief against the Bangash. Mention may also be made to the less authentic vernacular works on the subject by Shyam Lal and Gore Lal Tiwari.

Chhatrasal, however, has not received and specific treatment as yet. His activities were treated either from the Mughal point of view or the Maratha point of view, both of which

could not correctly assess their genuine nature. Our historians mainly based their conclusions on the study of the Akhbarats of the Mughal court, contemporary Persian texts and the Maratha records, and as the scope of their work was much wider, they could not naturally devote much time and space to the regional histories, and specially to that of Bundelkhand concerning which only scanty material was available. Internal sources could not be tapped to the full and even the few details given in Mughal Akhbarats were overlooked, due to the comprehensive nature of the topics under treatment. This book, therefore, fills an important gap in the provincial histories and seeks to treat in detail the career and activities of Chhatrasal Bundela from the individual and regional point of view.

In this work nearly all the relevant contemporary available material in Persian, Marathi and Hindi, and the authentic works of comparatively modern authors have been utilised. Besides these, the new material obtained by internal research, has also been used after a critical examination. It mainly consists of the following :

(1) Letters of Chhatrasal to his sons, Officers and Peshwa Bajirao and a grant to Lal Kavi; (2) Letters of Bundela Rajahs to Chhatrasal; (3) Letters of the sons of Chhatrasal; (4) Imperial orders and Farmans issued in the name of Chhatrasal; (5) Manuscripts of scriptures of the Pranami sect; and (6) Local traditions.

This thesis by an intensive study of the newly discovered sets of *Akhbarat Darbar-i-Mualla*, Waqia papers and Hindi and Persian letters, in the Jaipur State Archives, not only establishes the historicity of *Chhatra Prakash*, which is further confirmed by the letters of Chhatrasal, but also treats in detail the relations of Chhatrasal, with the later Mughals between 1707 and 1720 A.D. It also imparts important and authentic information about his administration and his policy towards the other Bundela States. This book for the first time gives a connected and authoritative account of the life and religion of Pran Nath, and his relations with Chhatrasal.

To sum up, as a result of the research, this book claims definite advancement in our existing knowledge of the Bundela history on the following points:

(1) Early struggles of Chhatrasal (1671-1707); (2) His relations with Later Mughals (1707-1720); (3) His relations with Peshwa Bajirao I; (4) His policy towards other Bundela States; (5) Administration of Chhatrasal; and (6) Pranami sect and relations of Pran Nath and Chhatrasal.

My revered Guru, late professor Kalika Ranjan Kanungo (Professor of History at the Universities of Dacca and Lucknow), has been the main inspiration behind this book and "what a son owes to his father, I owe to my Master." My thanks are due to late Maharaja Yadvendra Singh of Panna and his private Secretaries—Kunwar Chaturpal Singh, Mr. Chuda Shama and Mr. M.L. Gore—but for whose personal zeal to be helpful in my research, much of the original material used in this thesis, would not have been forthcoming. I am also highly indebted to Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghubir Singh for his most valuable help and suggestions concerning this book. He not only placed his rare collections of Sri Raghubir Library, Sita Mau, and his learned Maulvi Qazi Karamatullah at my disposal, but also underwent many a personal inconveniences in guiding me to the relevant materials. Last but not the least sincere are my thanks to Mr. Chetan Datta Sharma, the Kamdar of Pran Nath temple at Panna, and his colleagues, who allowed me access to Pranami Scriptures and read them with me.

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ONE

GEOGRAPHICAL LIMITS OF BUNDELKHAND AND ITS EARLY HISTORY

Bundelkhand is the name given to the region that lies between the river Yamuna on the north, Jabbulpore and Saugar divisions of Madhya Pradesh on the south, the river Sindh on the west and northwest and the river Tons and the Mirzapur hills on the east.[1] Under the Mughal administrative divisions, most of the Bundelkhand came under the Subah of Allahabad, while

[1] With slight variations, these are the accepted boundaries. Cunningham was told that the river Betwa formed the western boundary of the region, while Diwan Mazboot Singh fixed the river Kali Sindh as the western limit. However, the river Sindh which now separates the Bundelkhand division from the Gwalior division of Madhya Pradesh, seems to be the actual western limit of Bundelkhand, since the boundaries of the Bundela state of Datia on the west extended only to this river. Datia state is now merged in Madhya Pradesh.
See Cunningham's Anc. Geog., p. 482, as cited by Smith in Ind., Ant., May 1908, p. 130; J.A.S.B., 1902, p. 100; L.M., II, p. 216; Shyamlal, I, p. 1; J. Rennel, *Memoirs of a Map of Hindustan*, p. 234.
Traditionally, Bundelkhand has for its boundaries the four rivers, the Yamuna on the north, the Narmada on the south, the Chambal on the west and the Tons on the east. The following couplet contains this tradition:

इत जमुना उत नर्मदा इत चम्बल उत टोंस।
छत्रसाल सों लरन की रही न काहू होंस॥

("In the land bounded by the rivers Yamuna, Narmada, Chambal and the Tons none had the courage to challenge the might of Chhatrasal")
These limits, which indicate only the sphere of influence and not the extension of real authority, fluctuated from time to time according to the length of the sword wielded by the Bundela chieftains.

some other parts like Kalpi, Irij (Erach) and Chanderi, etc. were included in the adjacent subahs of Agra and Malwa.[2]

This region acquired the name Bundelkhand only when the Bundelas rose to power in this part of the country. Previous to it the tract was known as Jajhoti or Jejakbhukti, which is confirmed by the inscriptions of the Chandels and the statements of foreign travellers who visited the country from time to time.[3]

The Chandels exercised an effective sway over this region before the advent of the Bundelas. But towards the last quarter of the 12th century, the prolonged resistance which Parmal or Parmardideo (1165-1203) had to offer, first to Prithviraj Chauhan and later to Qutubuddin Aibak (1203), weakened the hold of the Chandels over the region. The successors of Parmal,

[2] *Ain-i-Akabari*, II (English translation by J.N. Sarkar), pp. 177, 195, 198-9, 210-214.

[3] For example, one Chandel inscription of Samvat 1239 or 1182 A.D. found at Madanpur (36 miles south of Lalitpur) in Jhansi district mentions the name Jejakabhukti and roads as follows:

अरुणोराजस्य पौत्रेण,
श्री सोमेश्वर सूनुना ।
जैजाक भुक्ति देशोयाम्,
पृथ्वी राजेन लुण्टिता: ।

("Prithviraj, the son of Someshwar and the grandson of Arunoraj plundered and looted the country named Jejakbhukti.")

The name Jejakbhukti is said to have been given to this region after one Jaijak or Jaishakti, who was the grandson of Chandravarman, the founder of the Chandel dynasty.

For detailed information see Smith, "History and Coinage of Chandel dynasty of Bundelkhand," Ind. Ant., May 1908, p. 114-148 ; Archaelogical Survey of India, Vol. X, p. 98; Archaelogical Survey of India, Vol. XXI, part I & II, Varanasi : Indological Book House, 1969, p. 173-74; S.N. Bose, *History of the Chandellas*; S.K. Mitra, *The Early Rulers of Khajuraho*; H.N. Dwivedi, *Dilli ke Tomar*, p. 41.

The Chinese traveller Yuan Chuang who visited the country in 641 A.D. mentioned it by the name Chi-Chi-To or Jijhoti. (Watters, Vol. II, p. 251).

Aburihan-al-Beruni calls it Jajahoti (Sachau's translation, Vol. I, p. 202, E & D. I, pp. 57-58, 383-84).

Ibn Batuata visited Khajuraho, a capital of Jaijakbhukti, and called it Kajarra (Gibb's tran., p. 226).

Trailokya Varman, Vir Varman, Hammir Varman, etc. tried to stave off the tidal waves of recurring Turk invasions with varying fortunes, each of which left them weaker and weaker. Ultimately when Alauddin Khilji occupied the Chandel territories, "The history of the independent Chandella dynasty came to an end by 1309A.D. Vestiges of the Chandela power may have lingered after this date in some small fortified areas, but the glories of the Chandellas became a part of ancient legend, which could not be revived under the imperial sway of Muslim rulers."[4]

In the period that elapsed between the fall of the Chandels and the rise of the Bundelas, the country was held by petty independent chiefs. The Gonds ruled in the south and the southwest. Bhars held Mahoba with the northern and eastern parts, while the Khangars occupied the country round Orchha with their capital at Garh Kurar, about thirty miles east of Jhansi.[5] This was the situation, when the Bundelas made their appearance in the region.

The Bundelas: their Short History down to Birsing Dev

The Bundelas trace their descent from Raja Pancham, the son of a Gaharwar Raja of Kashi named Bir Bhadra. The latter had five sons in all, four from the senior Rani and the one from the junior Rani. Pancham, who was born of the younger Rani, though not the eldest, was still the most favourite son of his father, who ignoring the claims of the other four, made him his heir. After the death of Vir Bhadra, the four brothers combined against Pancham and ousted him from the throne. But soon after Pancham defeated his brothers and recovered the kingdom of his father.[6] He was succeeded by his son, Bir, who

[4] Mitra, *The Early Rulers of Khajuraho*, p. 140 ; Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 394 ; Smith, "A contribution to the History of Bundelkhand," J.A.S.B., Part I, 1881, pp. 1-53.

[5] J.A.S.B , Part I, 1881, pp. 44-46; Orchha Gaz., pp. 9-14.

[6] This whole account is based on Ch. P., pp. 4-8. According to another version, the name of the father of Pancham or Hem Karan was Karnpal. He had only three sons and Pancham was the younger though not the youngest. Orchha Gaz., pp. 11-12; Gore, p. 116; J.A.S B , 1902, p. 103.

extended the kingdom further towards the southwest and made Mahoni (Jalaun District) his capital He is also said to have defeated one Sattar Khan and annexed Kalpi and Kalinjar to his dominions.[7]

Incidently it may be remarked here that the Bundelas must have entered this region, to which they later gave their name, in the early part of the thirteenth century. The victories of Shihabuddin Ghori and his generals dealt shattering blows to the Rajput states of northern India and it is probably about this period that a branch of the Gaharwars of Kashi and Kanauj, later on known as the Bundelas, forced their entry into the Bundelkhand.[8] The breakdown of the Chandel power must have also encouraged their infiltration into this region.

The one notable stage in the acquisition of power by the Bundelas in this part of the country, was the ousting of Khangars and the capture of Garh Kurar by Sohanpal Bundela, the third lineal descendent of Bir Bundela, sometime in the second half of the thirteenth century.[9]

The successors of Sohanpal ruled at Kurar and it remained the seat of Bundela power till 1531, when Rudra Pratap of this dynasty founded Orchha (April 1531) and made it his capital.[10] He took advantage of the confusion created by the invasion of Babur and extended his sway over the neighbouring territories. It is from the twelve sons of Rudra Pratap, that most of the Bundela royal families trace their descent.[11] He and his succes-

[7] Ch. P., pp. 9-10; J.A.S B., 1902, p. 105.

[8] For the origin of the word 'Bundela', see Appendix 1.

[9] The year of the capture of Kurar is disputed. Diwan Mazbutsingh puts it in 1288 A.D. (Wednesday 2nd Kartik Sam. 1345). Irvine gives 1292, as the approximate year. Smith fixed it between 1330-1340, which is rather too late. According to Orchha Gaz., Kurar or Kundar was captured in Samvat 1314 (1257 A.D.), while elsewhere the event is placed in Samvat 1313 (1256 A.D.) In absence of more reliable information it would be safer to presume that Kurar must have been captured sometime in the later half of the thirteenth century. Ch. P., p. 10; J.A.S.B., 1902, pp. 105-6; J.A.S.B., 1881, pp. 44-45; L.M. II, p. 217; Orchha Gaz., p. 15.

[10] The foundations of Orchha were laid on the Baisakh sudi 13 Samvat 1588, i.e. Sunday, the 29th April 1531. Orchha Gaz., p. 17.

[11] Ch. P., p. 11. Irvine and Diwan Mazbutsingh make reference to only nine sons. L.M. II, p. 218; J.A S.B,. 1902, p. 107,

sor Bhartichand extended the Bundela power to the south and the southwest of the Jamuna and henceforth the name of Bundelkhand may appropriately be given to this region, which was previously known as Jajhoti or Jejakabhukti.[12]

Rudra Partap was killed in an encounter with a tiger while attempting the rescue of a cow in 1531 A D. His two elder sons, Bhartichand (1531-54) and Madhukar Shah (1554-92) who succeeded him one after the other maintained their hold over Orchha and its neighbouring dependencies It was in the period of Madhukar Shah that the Bundelas first came into conflict with the Mughals. He took to aggression towards Gwalior and Sironj and gave offence to Emperor Akbar and Prince Murad by his seditious activities. Punitive expeditions were sent against him and more than once he was forced to submit.[13] Madhukar Shah died sometime in 1592 and his eldest son Ram Shah succeeded to the seat of Orchha. Ram Shah's younger, but more ambitious, brother Birsinghdeo, the *jagirdar* of Baroni (near Datia) courted the favours of Prince Salim and earned his gratitude by the murders of Abul Fazal in August 1602. The latter was then returning from the Deccan to Agra. He was waylaid and killed in an ambush at Antari near Gwalior. Consequently when Salim ascended the throne as Jahangir he installed his protege Birsinghdeo on the Gaddi of Orchha and Ram Shah was hustled off to Chanderi. Birsinghdeo proved himself a powerful and strong ruler and he remained singularly loyal to his benefactor throughout his life.[14]

[12] J.A.S.B., 1902, p. 108.
In M.U. (Vol. II, p. 131) it is wrongly stated that Rudra Pratap fought battles with Sher Shah and Salim Shah Sur. Here obviously Bhartichand is mistaken for his father Rudra Pratap, who died in 1531 A.D., long before Sher Shah or Salim Shah acceeded to power.

[13] Ch. P., p. 12; M. U., II, p. 131-34; *Akbarnama* (English) III, pp. 294-95, 324-26, 379, 803, 923-24.

[14] *Akbarnama*, III, pp. 1217-18, 1220-21, 1223-25, 1229, 1239, 1252, 1256; E & D, Vol. VI, pp. 154-60; Bevridge, *Memoirs of Jehangir*, pp. 24-25; Keshavdas, *Birsinghdeo Charitra*, pp. 35 40; M.U., II, p. 197; Beni Prasad, *Jehangir*, pp. 52-55; A.L. Srivastava, *Akbar the Great*, pp. 467-68.

Rebellions of Jujhar Singh

Bir Singh Dev's death preceded that of his patron Jahangir (28 October 1627) by a few months. His successor Jujhar Singh, somehow incurred the displeasure of Shahjahan and "despairing apparently of continuance of the great favours showered on his father in the previous reign fled from Agra to his home"[15] (Orchha). Three imperial armies under Mahabat Khan, Khanjahan Lodi and Abdulah Khan entered the Kingdom of Jujhar Singh from nroth, northwest and south The capture of Irich (January 1629) by Abdullah Khan highly unnerved Jujhar Singh. He hastily submitted and obtained royal pardon in early March 1629, through the good offices of Mahabat Khan. Jujhar Singh then served under the latter for sometime in the Deccan, but later on returned to Orchha in between 26th June 1634 and 15th June 1635.[16]

Soon after his return from the Deccan, Jujhar Singh again gave offence to the Emperor by his forcible seizure of the fort of Chauragarh[17] from the Gond Rajah Bhim Narain, whom he also assassinated. The Emperor promptly despatched orders to Jujhar Singh, which strangely enough, did not demand the restoration of the seized territories to the son of the victim, but a share in the spoils for himself. Jujhar Singh, however, was unwilling to share his ill-gotten gains. He understood the consequences and, therefore, prepared for resistance. He secretly directed his son, Bikramajit, who was then incharge of the Bundela contingent in Balaghat to join him at the earliest. Bikramajit though overtaken and wounded by the imperialists near Ashta [18] successfully negotiated his way through the less frequented jungle paths and joined his

[15] L.M. II, p. 220. Abdul Hamid Lahori, the historian of *Padshahnamah* states that "The wealth and property which Narsinghdeo (Birsinghdev) amassed without labour and without trouble unsettled the mind of his worthless successor Jujhar, and at the accession of Shah Jahan . . .he left the capital Agra, and proceeded to Undcha (Orchha)". . . . Pad. I (A), p. 240; E & D, VII, p. 7.

[16] Pad. I (A), pp. 240-42, 246-48, Aur. I, p. 17. L. M. II, p. 220

[17] Chauragarh-Narsinghpur Distt. (CP) 10 miles southeast of Gadarwara Railway Station.

[18] Ashta is 75 miles Southwest of Bhilsa.

father at Dhamoni.[19] Sir J. N. Sarkar rightly remarks that "a habitual plunderer and refractory chieftain could not be left unsubdued on the edge of the Daccan road."[20] Therefore, the Emperor sent three armies under Khan Jahan, Firuz Jung and Khan-i-Dauran, which marched from different directions into the rebel's country and united at Bhander.[21] Another offer to Jujhar Singh to buy peace went unheeded. Now the combined army which was put under the nominal command of Prince Aurangzib, resumed its march towards Orchha.[22]

Jujhar Singh's resistance proved of no avail. Orchha was taken on the 4th October 1635 and conferred on Debi Singh Bundela of Chanderi. Jujhar Singh fled with his family to Dhamoni and then to Chauragarh. The Mughals followed close at his heels. They occupied Dhamoni and advanced towards Chauragarh Jujhar Singh abandoned the fort of Chauragarh and moved towards the south through the territories of Chanda and Deogarh where he was overtaken by the imperialists. The Bundelas tried to stab their women, in order to save their honour. But hardly they had stabbed a few, when the pursuers came upon them. Most of the Bundelas were slain and the women were taken captive Jujhar Singh and Bikramajit fled into the jungles where they were murdered by the Gonds. Their heads were sent to the Emperor (December 1635) by whose orders these were hung from the gates of Sehore to bring home a terrible lesson to all the miscreants.[23]

The women of the household of Jujhar Singh and Durgbhan and Durjansal, his son and grandson respectively, were brought before Shahjahan. The proselytizing zeal of the Emperor flared up. The Princes were converted to Islam. Rani Parbati, the widow of Bir Singh, had the good fortune of being passed over as she was seriously wounded, while the other women had the ignominy of being admitted into the imperial seraglio after conversion where they were condemned in perpetuity to a life devoid of self-respect, honour and grace. Soon after.

[19] Pad. I. (B), pp. 95-96. Aur. I, p. 19. Dhamoni is about 24 miles north of Saugor.

[20] Aur. I, p. 19.

[21] Bhander is about 25 miles northeast of Jhansi.

[22] Pad. I (B), pp. 97-99. Aur. I, p. 22.

[23] Pad. I (B), pp. 107-17. Aur. I, p. 22-26.

another son, Udaybhan, his younger brother, and Shyam Dauwa, who had sought refuge in Golkonda and were handed over by its ruler, arrived at the court. Udaybhan and Shyam Dauwa who were of age refused conversion and were executed.[24]

In the suppression of the rebellion of Jujhar Singh the Mughals received the active cooperation of Debi Singh of Chanderi, Bhagwan Rao of Datia and Pahar Singh Bundela. The former was the son of Ram Shah, the elder brother of Bir Singhdeo and the other two were the brothers of Jujhar Singh. So deep-rooted was the hatred and disunity among the Bundelas that the ties of family relationship were completely forgotten. Debi Singh had at last the satisfaction of acquiring his lost patrimony and calmly witnessed the pulling down of a temple near the fort of Orchha.[25] We are also told that "among the Hindu Rajputs who assisted at this pious work fighting under the Mughal banner were Sisodias and Rathors, Kachwahas and Hadas."[26] Hindu morality had sunk to a very low ebb. Pride of race, religion, sense of self-respect and that much-talked spirit of Rajput chivalry had all vanished with their political independence.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUED BY CHAMPAT RAI

After the death of Jujhar Singh, Debi Singh continued in the possession of the territories of Orchha for about two years during which he had to encounter serious opposition of the Bundelas who were in no way inclined to submit to one who had made his way to the throne by playing the traitor to his country and his clan. Debi Singh failed to maintain himself at Orchha and retired to Chanderi. Therefore, the former possessions of Jujhar Singh were now made crownlands and put under the Mughal officers.

In the meanwhile the dauntless Bundelas had found a new leader among them. This was Champat Rai, a scion of the collateral branch of Orchha rulers. He was fourth in

[24] Pad. I (B), pp. 115, 133, 139; Aur. I, p. 27.
[25] Pad. I (B), p. 121.
[26] Pad. I (B), pp. 96-97, 99-100; Aur. I, p. 29

descent from Raja Rudra Partap (1501-31), the founder of Orchha. Bhagwant Rai, the father of Champat Rai, was the grandson of Udyajit, who was the third son of Rudra Pratap. When Rudra Pratap died in 1531, his second wife Rani Muhraban Kunwar (Mihirban Kunwar), the mother of Udyajit, left Orchha and made Katera[27] her abode. Rao Udyajit founded a village named Mahewa[28] near Katera. It became the ancestral home of the descedants of Udyajit who lived there in obscurity for about four generations, when Champat Rai emerged into limelight in the reign of Shah Jahan.[29]

Champat Rai was born at the village of Mor Paharia about four miles south of Mahewa. Very little is known about his early life. He served under Birsingh Dev and continued to be the faithful adherent of his successor Jujhar Singh.[30] When the latter rebelled, Champat Rai stood loyal to him.[31] But probably he did not accompany Jujhar Singh on his last flight and thus eluded the fate which befell him.

Later on when the Orchha territories were incorporated in the royal dominions, Champat Rai espoused the cause of Prithvi Raj, a younger son of Jujhar Singh, and led the raids on the territories round about Orchha. Abdullah Khan, Firuz Jung and Baqi Khan who were posted locally, assembled forces to quell these disturbances. In an engagement (18 April 1640) which took place somewhere between Orchha, and Jhansi, the Bundelas were utterly routed. Prithviraj was taken prisoner and sent to Gwalior. It is probably just afterwards that Baqi Khan again surprised the Bundelas at Khailhar[32] and in the skirmish that followed, Sarvahan, the eldest son of Champat

[27] Katera is 20 miles east of Orchha.
[28] This Mahewa is three miles south of Ketera.
[29] L. M. II, p. 219; Ch. P., p. 13.
[30] M.U. II, p. 510; Pad. II, p. 304; P.R. 60 (Ch. S. to Jag. 9 October 1730); P.R. 62 (Ch. S. to Jag. 11 November 1730). In letter 62 Chhatrasal makes a reference to a Jagir received by his father from the rulers of Orchha, which he later on returned.
One Champat Rai Bargujar is said to have carried the head of Abul Fazal to Salim at Allahabad (*Virsinghdev Charitra*, p. 41).
[31] P.R. 60 (Ch. S. to Jag., 9 October 1730).
[32] Khailhar is about 7 miles south of Jhansi.

Rai was slain.[33]

But Champat Rai, undaunted by these reverses, continued resistance to the Mughal authority in his country. He led surprise attacks on the Mughal outposts, cut off their lines of communications, ravaged the crown lands and drove off the cultivators. His predatory activities spread to the confines of Gwalior and Malwa. The imperial generals, Abdullah Khan, Bahadur Khan, etc. could effect practically nothing against him.[34]

The Emperor Shah Jahan considering it difficult, if not impossible, to subdue Champat Rai only by the employment of imperial troops, now restored the territores of Orchha to Pahar Singh Bundela (4 June 1642), a younger brother of Jujhar Singh and sent him with increased Mansab to Bundelkhand.[35] Shah Jahan thus expected to create a discord among the Bundelas, by dividing their allegiance between Champat Rai and Pahar Singh. Another possible consideration which prompted this new assignment of Pahar Singh against Champat, might have been that the former had also an intimate knowledge of the Bundela country to fight Champat on equal terms.

Champat Rai, homever, deemed it impolitic and unworthy of himself to oppose the son of Birsingh Dev to whom he was bound also with the ties of kinship, His opposition to Pahar Singh would have divided the loyalties of the Bundelas and then his cherished desire to instal a descedant of Birsingh Dev on the throne of Orchha, was also served. Therefore, he sheathed his sword and came to greet the new ruler at Islamabad or Jatara.[36] He joined his service and proceeded with him to Orchha where he stayed for sometime.[37]

But these cordial relations were not destined to last long. The fame and popularity that Champat Rai had attained during his successful resistance to the Mughals, roused the jealousy of Pahar Singh. He was also probably afraid that lest by any of

[33] Ch. P., pp. 19-22; Pad. II, p. 193; L.M. II, p. 222.
[33] Pad. II, p. 221; L.M. II, p. 223; Ch., pp. 28-33.
[35] Pad. II, p. 303; L.M. II, p. 223; Ch. P., p. 34.
[36] Jatara is about 16 miles from Mauranipur (in Jhansi District) on road to Tikamgurh. It was named Islamabad during the reign of Islam Shah Sur (1545-54).
[37] Pad. II, p. 304; Ch. P., p. 34.

the acts of Champat Raihe might not incur the displeasure of Shah Jahan. Champat Rai was too popular, if not equally strong to be banished by force. Therefore, Pahar Singh had recourse to stratagems. On one festive occasion when Champa Rai with his chief associates visited Pahar Singh, the latter caused the poisoned dishes to be served to him. One Bhim Bundela who detected the secret, changed his dishes with those of his chief and took poisonous food, instead. Without disclosing it to Champat Rai, he retired and died at his residence. Failing in this attempt Pahar Singh employed a secret agent to murder Champat Rai in the cover of night. But this attempt also failed and the appointed murderer was pierced through by an arrow discharged by Champat Rai. Thus poison and the secret hand of the assasin, both failed against the vigilance of Champat Rai and his staunch followers [38]

These attempts on his life convinced Champat Rai of the evil intentions of Pahar Singh. He thought open resistance to Pahar Singh, who was aided by the Mughals, to be undesirable and destructive to the unity of the Bundelas. Therefore, he chose to enter the imperial service under Dara Shukoh. He also accompanied the latter in the third siege of Qandahar (April-September 1953), which proved an utter failure. But however, the Emperor seems to have been pleased with the services of Champat Rai and, therefore, he granted him the jagir of Konch[39] valued at three lacs. Soon afterward Champat Rai gave some offence to Dara Shukoh and the latter transferred Konch to Pahar Singh of Orchha. Champat Rai felt greatly aggrieved. He abruptly left the court and returned to his ancestral jagir of Mahewa where he once again resumed his predatory career.[40]

The war of successionbetween the sons of Shah Jahan provided Champat Rai with an opportunity to satisfy his grudge against Prince Dara. After the defeat of Jaswant Singh at the battle of Dharmat (15 April 1658) Champat Rai with Subh Karan Bundela of Datia joined Aurangzib and received a man-

[38] Ch. P., pp. 35-37.
[39] Konch is about 53 miles northeast of Jhansi.
[40] Pad. II, p. 304, Ch. P., pp. 37, 39-40.

sab of 5,000, a horse and a robe of honour.[41] It was he, who conducted the combined army of Murad and Aurangzib across an unguarded ford of the Chambal to the disadvantage of Dara.[42] Then in the battle of Samugarh (29 May 1958) Champat Rai fought on the side of Aurangzib under Prince Muhammad Azam in the vanguard. After the victory he was presented with an elephant and received an increased mansab along with the jagirs of Erach, Shahjadpur, Konch and Kanar. A little later he was appointed with Khalil-ullah Khan at Lahore.[43] Shortly afterwards when rumours of Shuja's advance towards Khajwah in the east spread far and wide, Aurangzib ordered Bahadur Khan to move in that direction. Bahadur Khan sent a message to Champat Rai, who was then probably at Agra to join him without delay. The messenger behaved insolently and threatened demotion and other consequences if the order was not complied at the earliest. Champat Rai, touchy and sensitive as he was, took offence at the threats and left at once for his country where he again raised disturbances and thus rendered the routes to Malwa unsafe. As the emperor was then busy in settling the affairs with Dara and Shuja, no stringent measures could be taken and only Subh Karan Bundela together with Indramani of Orchha and Maha Singh Bhandauria was ordered to proceed against Champat. They gained a few and unimportant successes, which, however, did not make any impression on Champat, who continued in rebellion. When Aurangzib got rid of his rivals and was securely seated on the throne of Delhi, he ordered Debi Singh Bundela of Chanderi, in the 4th year of his reign (20 April 1661- 9 April 1662) to suppress Champat Rai with the assistance of the Rajas and Jagirdars of Malwa and Bundelkhand. Heavy odds were now arranged against Champat His own clansmen and relatives had turned against him. He made proposals of submission through his son Ratan Shah and brother Sujan Singh but in vaini Soon after his only supporter, Sujan Singh committed suicide in order to evade capture in the

[41] A.N., p. 78; Bhimsen, p. 20; M.U. II, pp. 510-11.

[42] Bernier, p. 43; Ch. P., pp. 45-46; Manucci, I, pp. 169-70; Bhimsen, p. 20; Aur., Vol. I. and II, pp. 373-74, footnote.

[43] A.N., pp. 92, 163, 217, 301; Ch. P., pp. 46-50; M.U. II, p. 511; Aur. III, pp. 5-6, 28.

fort of Bedpur which fell to the Orchha troops.[44]

Champat now moved towards Sahara to take shelter with Indraman Dhandhera who was under some obligation to him.[45] Indraman Dhandera was then out on some expedition. His Deputy Sahib Rai Dhandhera provided shelter to the rebel chief who was then ailing and gradually los ng his strength. Sujan Singh Bundela, the Rajah of Orchha, who was closely pursuing Champat Rai advanced to the neighbourhood of Sahara and demanded his surrender.[46] The Dhandheras who suffered heavily in a preliminary encounter now decided to make amends for their guilt of providing shelter to Champat Rai by his assassination. Orders to that effect were sent to the detachment which was escorting Champat Rai to Morangaon. The latter was accompanied only by his wife, Lal Kunwar or Kal Kunwar. He was now an old man weakened by age and sickness and was being carried on a cot. At the appointed signal, the Dhandheras fell upon Champat Rai Rani Lal Kunwar rushed towards her husband. But a soldier stopped her horse by the reins. The Rani drew her dagger and plunged it again and again in her stomach till she fainted and died. Champat Rai who was now convinced of the treacherous resolve of the enemy also ended his life by the thrusts of his own dagger (October 1661).[47] The Dhanderas sent the head of Champat

[44] A.N., pp. 301, 631-32; M.U. II, p. 511; Ch. P., 51-57.

[45] Sahara, in Sarangpur district of Malwa.

[46] A.N., pp. 632-33; Ch. P., pp. 57-58; L.M. II, pp. 225-26; Aur., Vol. III, p. 29.

[47] Ch. P., pp. 63-65; Aur., III, p. 30.
The account of the death of Champat Rai as given by Irvine (L.M. II, p 227) is at variance with that given in Ch. P. which has been followed in the text. Probably the mistake lay with the wrong interpretation of the verses.
The account given by Irvine is as follows:
"They. . . suddenly fell upon and slew the Bundela chief . . .The Thakurani leapt from her horse and ran to her husband's side. She laid hold of a horseman's reins but he turned and plunged his dagger into her stomach. Thus husband and wife died together. . . " L.M. Vol II, p. 227.
The original lines from Ch. P. may be quoted for comparison.

ऐसौ समौ लख्यौ ठकुरानी। पतिवृत माँझ चलायौ पानी।
चुटकि तुरग पति के ढिग जाही। धरी बाग इक दौर सिपाही॥

Rai to the court where it arrived on 7 November 1661 (N.S.) Sujan Singh, the Rajah of Orchha, however, felt no pricks of conscience and claimed full honours for the removal of the rebel (that Champat was!) at the Mughal court.[48]

बाग छुबन पाई नही, चढ़यौ मरन को चाउ।
कटरा काढ़यों पेट में, दये घाउ पर घाउ॥
दै दै घाउ मरी ठकुरानी। चंपतिराइ दगा तब जानी।
यह संसार तुच्छ निरधारयौ। मारि कठारिन उदर विदारयौ॥

[48] M.U. II, p. 511; A N. p. 633.

Appendix 1

THE ORIGIN OF THE WORD BUNDELA EXPLAINED

According to Chhatra Prakash when the brothers of Pancham ousted him from the throne, he visited the shrine of Vindhyavasini Devi, situated five miles west of Mirzapur and devoted himself to most severe ascetecism. After seven days, he decided to offer his own head to the Deity. But before the consummation of sacrifice, it is said, the Deity appeared, held his hand and promised a kingdom to him. However, a drop of blood had oozed out of the wound that Pancham had inflicted upon his head and it was from the drop or 'Bund' that the descendents of Pancham acquired the name of Bundela.[1]

According to another account of *Orchha Gazetteer*, Pancham made five offerings of human heads at the shrine of the Deity and then added 'Vindhyela' to his name because the shrine was situated in the Vindhya ranges. This Vindhyela was later corrupted into Bundela.[2]

Elliot gives credence to the account of the origin of the Bundelas, as given by the author of Hadiqat-ul-Akalim according to which the ancestor of the Bundelas was an offspring of Bandi (slave-girl) by a Gaharwar named Hardeo.[3] Dr Smith though not willing to accept the version of Hadiqat-ul-Akalim suggests the possibility of "a marriage between the daughter of the Khangar Raja of Garh Kurar and the Gaharwar adventurer who supplanted him" and thinks that Bundelas owed their origin to this union.[4] But this does not in itself explain the

[1] Ch. P., pp. 6-8; J.A.S.B., 1902, p. 104.
[2] Orchha Gaz., p. 12.
[3] Hadiqat-ul-Akalim, p. 167 as cited in L.M. II, p. 218 and Beams Elliot, I, p. 45.
[4] J.A.S.B., 1881, pp. 44-46.

origin of the word Bundela.

According to Tod, one Jassonda Gaharwar of Kasi performed "some grand sacrificial rites" at Vindhyavasini and "gave the title of Bundela to his issue."[5]

Then in *Maasir-ul-Umra* also it has been definitely stated that one ancestor of Bundelas, named Kashiraj, was a devotee of Vindhyavasini and, therefore, he was called the Bundela.[6]

To sum up, it seems that the name Bundela originated from the word Vindhyela which in its turn was derived from the Vindhyas, the famous mountain ranges which traverse this region. It also seems highly probable that Pancham who was once deprived of the kingdom of his father, felt its restoration to be the boon of his deity (Vindhyavasini) and out of sheer gratitude, assumed the name of Vindhyela which later contracted into Bundela. It may also be suggested that Pancham might have brought under his control the region round Mirzapur where the shrine of Vindhyavasini is situated and which could be the additional reason for the assumption of the name of Vindhyela.

Here, it may be interesting to note that the name of one ancestor of Pancham was Vindhyraj[7] which also lends support to the probable derivation of the word Bundela from the Vindhyas.

[5] Tod, Vol. I, p. 116.
[6] M.U. II., p. 317; also vide *Nag. Prach. Patrika*, Vol. III, pp. 416-21.
[7] Ch. P., p. 4.

TWO

EARLY LIFE OF CHHATRASAL BUNDELA

I

His Childhood

Chhampat Rai's tragic end, though closed a phase of Bundela resistance to the imperial Mughals, however proved to be the prologue to the fascinating saga of the heroic struggle of his more famous son, Chhatrasal Bundela, who "lived to be long a throne in the side of the Mughals".[1]

The Chhatrasal was the fourth son of Champat Rai.[2] He was born on Friday, the 4th May 1649[3] at a village named Kakar

[1] Aur., III, p. 30.
[2] Champat Rai had five sons, Sarvahan, Angad Rai, Ratan Shah, Chhatrasal and Gopal. The eldest Sarvahan was killed in a skirmish with Baqi Khan and Champat Rai was surved only by his four sons. Ch. P. pp., 17, 20-22.
[3] Here the traditional date Friday, Jyestha Sudi 3 Sam. 1706 has been accepted. This tradition is contained in the following two verses :

1. संवत सत्रह सैं अह छै, सुभ जेष्ठ सुदी तिथि तीजि बखानी।
दिन शुक्रवार है, शिव के नक्षत्र में पुत्र जन्यों एक चम्पत रानी॥
2. संवत सत्रह सै अह छै अधिक, बरस बिलंबी साल।
जेठ मास सुदी तीज तिथि, उपजे नृप छत्रसाल॥

The first verse was composed by Shyamji, the grandfather of Mahant Dhani Ram who at present looks after the memorial of Chhatrasal at Dhuvela (5 miles south of Nowgong). The family of Mahant Dhani Ram has retained the charge of this memorial since its construction, after the death of Chhatrasal.
The other dates mentioned elsewhere are following:
(i) Jyestha Sudi 3 Friday Sam. 1705 (Vilambi) (Monday 15 May

Kachnai.[4] Only scanty information is available about his childhood. But it may be assumed that the life of Champatrai as a predatory leader must have hampered the proper training of his sons except perhaps in arms.

The natural proclivities of Chhatrasal were those of an average Bundela. He began with the bow and the arrow promoting himself gradually to fencing and the use of big staff. When he became an expert rider, he took the princely games of polo (Chaugan) and hunting and employed his leisure in wrestling and musketry.[5] Chhatrasal was brought up in his maternal uncle's house where he had some literary education.[6] In later life, he looked upon great Shivaji as his political and military "Guru" and is said to have also learnt the witchcraft from him.[7]

Chhatrasal, from his childhood, had very religious temperament. He once fell into a swoon of religious emotions in the temple of Chetan Gopal at Mahewa.[8] This deep religious tinge is throughout visible in his later life also.

On his last flight towards Sahra, Chhatrasal accompanied his father. The Sahra forces advanced to the rescue of Champat Rai. Chhatrasal took them to be those of the enemy, and together with his mother, made himself ready to fight to

1648, Gore., p. 163).

(ii) Jyestha Sudi 3 Sam. 1707—Thursday 23 May 1650. (Panna Gaz., p. 7).

(iii) 26 May 1650 Sunday—Jyestha Sudi 6 Sam. 1707. (N. H. M., II, p. 105).

Gore Lal's year 1705 is obviously a mistake for Sam. 1706 (Gore, p. 164, footnote). Samvat 1705 was 'Hemlamba'. 'Vilamba' was the name given to year 1076. The day given (Friday) also does not tally. A similar mistake of the year seems to have been made in the Panna Gaz.

The date given by Dr Sardesai also cannot be accepted since he himself doubts the authenticety of the sources used by him. (Sardesai's letter to the present writer, 1 February 1955).

4 Kakar Kachnai is a village about 27 miles east of Jhansi. This information is based on local tradition.

5 Ch. P., pp. 66-67.

6 Ch.P., p. 56; P. R., 50 (Ch.S. to Jag. 19 May 1730).

7 P. R. 75 (Ch. S. to Jag. 17 June 1731)

8 Ch. P., p. 60.

the last for the defence of his father. But his life was destined for greater purpose and Champat Rai was safely escorted to Sahra by the Dhandhera forces.[9]

When Champat Rai was moving towards Morangoan from Sahra Chhatrasal acting on the orders of his parents proceeded to the village of his brother-in-law Gyan Sah where he was coldly received. Chhatrasal was then suffering from fever but his sister would not even console him by kind words. He returned to his camp, unfed and unprovided for. When Gyan Sah arrived in the evening, he sent provisions and the meals were served late in the night.[10]

Later on, most probably Chhatrasal again proceeded to Sahra, because we are told that he received the sad news of the death of his parents at this place.[11]

He was then living with his maternal uncle.[12] Chhatrasal after having performed the funeral ceremonies of his parents left for Deogarh to meet his brother Angad. He broke the sad news to the latter. Both the brothers felt deeply grieved and wronged and their hearts burnt with the spirit of revenge.[13]

Chhatrasal then returned to Dailwara[14] where he obtained the jewellery of his mother, deposited with some local man. Soon afterwards, the marriage of Chhatrasal was celebrated with one Dev Kunwar of a Panwar family. Chhatrasal also met his family Purohit named Bhan. But the latter disgusted him by his proud and insolent behaviour.[15]

9 Ibid.

10 Ch. P., p. 63.

11 Ibid, p. 68.

12 P.R. 53 (Ch. S. to Jag. 10 June 1730).
The poet of Ch. P. mentions that Chhatrasal heard the news of the death of his parents at Sahra (p. 68) and according to the letter quoted above, he was then with his maternal uncle. It establishes a relation between Sahra and his maternal uncle. Then again when Champat Rai was moving towards Morangaon from Sahra, we are told that his wife Lal Kunwar tried to persuade a servant of his father's household to take the disguise of Champat Rai (Ch.P., p. 64). These two points warrant the assumption that the chief of Sahra was probably related to Chhatrasal on his mother's side.

13 Ch.P., pp. 69-70.

14 Dailwara is 5 miles north of Lalitpur in Jhansi district.

15 Ch.P., pp. 70-71.

It was very obvious that Chhatrasal and his brothers could not expect support from any quarter in Bundelkhand. The fate of rebels against the Mughal rule or martyrs of Bundela independence such as Jujhar Singh, Prithvi Raj and Champat Rai was still too fresh and too demoralising among the people. Therefore, the two brothers, Angad and Chhatrasal, decided to join the imperial service.

II

Service under Jai Singh and Meeting with Shivaji

Chhatrasal together with his brother Angad and uncle Jam Sah now attached himself to Mirza Raja Jai Singh.[16] The latter was then proceeding against Shivaji (1665).[17] He accepted their services and promised to recommend them for some mansab in the imperial army if they would distinguish themselves in some siege or battle. Angad, Chhatrasal and their uncle Jam Shah rendered notable service in the siege of Purandar (May 1665) in recognition of which they received the *mansabs of 8 sadi, 2 sadi and 50, and 4 sadi* respectively.[18] They also took part in the invasion of Bijapur (December 1665-February 1666). Later on when Dilir Khan was proceeding to Deogarh, Chhatrasal was

[16] Ch. P., pp. 71-72.
Haft Anjuman, p. 32 (S.M.); Sarkar's collection of Jaipur Akhbarats, Vol. II, p. 83 (S.M.); For Jam Sah see Gore., p. 189, 317 and Ch. P., p. 102.

[17] Mirza Raja Jai Singh received the appointment to proceed against Shivaji on the 30 September 1664 and he crossed the Narmada on 19 January 1665. (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, p. 105.) It is probable that Chhatrasal and his brother joined him a little before this crossing took place, i.e. sometime between October 1664 and 9 January 1665. This fixes the age of Chhatrasal when he joined Jai Singh at about sixteen years.

[18] Sarkar's collection of Jaipur Akhbarats, vol. II, p. 83 (S.M.) Sir J.N. Sarkar mentions that Angad and Chhatrasal got the *mansabs* of Hazari and 3 *sadi* respectively (Aur., V., p. 39). Here it is to be noted that originally Jai Singh had recommended the following mansabs:

Angad	*Jam Shah*	*Chhatrasal*
Hazari Zat	3 sadi	3 sadi
500 sawar	300 sawar	150 sawar

sent with his contingent to reinforce him.[19] Kok Singh, the Rajah of Deogarh submitted without even a show of resistance.[20] But Chhatrasal entertained the grievance that his services were lightly regarded[21] and was now convinced that he could expect little advancement in the Mughal army. So he preferred hard liberty to the shameful service and fled to Shivaji, the champion of Hindu ideals and liberty. Shivaji's successful bid for independence which had created a stir in Hindu India must have captured the imagination of the youthful and fiery Chhatrasal, though fighting under the Mughal banner against Shivaji for the sake of a livelihood. He thought it, perhaps,

(Haft Anjuman, p. 32. (S.M.); But they received only the following:

Angad	*Jam Shah*	*Chhatrasal*
8 sadi zat	4 sadi zat	2 sadi 50 zat
600 sawar	300 sawar	100 sawar

(Sarkar's collection of Jaipur Akhbarats, vol. II, p. 83)

[19] According to Ch. P. (p. 72), Chhatrasal was sent to assist Bahadur Khan, which, however, does not seem to be correct as we come across only two campaigns of 1667 and 1669 against the Rajah of Deogarh about this time and these both were led by Diler Khan. Therefore, Chhatrasal must have served under Diler Khan and not under Bahadur Khan. (See Aur. V, p. 392).
Then Chhatrasal seems to have taken part in the campaign of 1667 as this event precedes his meeting with Shivaji and also because he is said to have been sent by Jai Singh (Ch. P., p. 72) who died in August 1667 (M.A., p. 41, footnote).
Here it is also to be noted that this campaign of 1667 lasted from 29 April to 17 September 1667 (Aur. V, pp. 403-404) and that Jai Singh died on the 28 August 1667(M.A., p.41, Footnote). This makes it highly probable that Jai Singh might have ordered Chhatrasal to join Diler Khan and not Bahadur Khan as mentioned in Ch. P.
In M.A. (p. 39) the first Deogarh campaign is placed in the 9th year (25th February 1666-14 February 1667) while according to A.N. (pp. 1022-30) it took place between 29 April and 17 September 1667, i.e. in the 10th year (Aur. V. pp. 404-405). The information given by A.N. is obviously more correct.

[20] A.N. (1020-30); Aur. V, pp. 403-404; M.A., p. 39. According to Ch. P. (pp. 72-76) and a letter (P.R. 54 Ch. S. to Jag., 17 June 1730) it was only after a severe battle in which Chhatrasal performed prodigies of valour that the Rajah of Deogarh was made to submit. The accounts of the both are highly exaggerated and hardly reliable against the more trustworthy Persian chronicles.

[21] Bhimsen, I, p. 132; Ch. P., p. 77.

nobler to fight and bleed for Hindu cause in Maharashtra than to stain his sword with the Hindu blood at the bidding of the slayer of his father.

Chhatrasal under the pretext of going on a hunting excursion left the Mughal camp and proceeded towards the Deccan with his wife to meet Shivaji.[22] He made his way through less frequented hills and forests and arrived on the banks of the river Bhima. He crossed the river and obtained an interview with Shivaji.[23]

Chhatrasal stayed with Shivaji for sometime at Poona[24] and utilised this period to receive his first lessons in diplomacy and statecraft from that great master. Chhatrasal was desirous of serving under him but the latter who dreamt of establishing Hindu Pad Padshahi in the teeth of Mughal opposition, deemed it unwise to detain the spirited Bundela in the Deccan and thus limit the Swarjaya activities to that region alone. Therefore,

[22] Ch. P., p. 78.

[23] According to the following cantos of Chhatra Prakash, Chhatrasal must have met Shivaji after his escape from Agra (19 August 1666). Shivaji reached Rajgarh about December 1666 (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, p. 159).

तुरकन में न विवेक विलोक्यौ।
मिलन गये उनको उन रोक्यौ॥
हमकौ भइ सहाइ भवानी।
भय नहीं मुग़लन की मनमानी॥
छल बल निकसि देश में आये।
अब हम पै उमराइ पहाये॥ (Ch. P., p. 79)

"The Turks are unscrupulous, They detained the person (me) who went to meet them. The Goddess Bhavani aided me and the Mughals failed in their designs. Having recourse to trickery I escaped to (my) country and now they sent nobles against me." (Ch. P., p. 79)

Chhatrasal might have served under Jai Singh till the early months of the year 1667 because it was after the campaign in Deogarh (25 April-17 September 1667) that Chhatrasal went to Shivaji. Jai Singh died on 28 August 1667. Therefore, it seems certain that the meeting of Shivaji and Chhatrasal must have taken place after the death of Jai Singh towards the closing months of 1667.

Sardesai also holds the view that Chhatrasal visited Shivaji after the latter's escape from Agra. N.H M., Vol. I, p. 268.

[24] Chhatrasal himself mentions this stay with Shivaji in letter to his son Jagat Raj. (P.R. 57—Ch. S. to Jag., 23 July 1730); Bhimsen, p. 101; Ch. P., p. 79; M.U. II, p. 511)

he advised Chhatrasal to return to his own country and organise and lead the freedom struggle against the Mughals. Thus, does Lal Kavi make fire emit from the mouth of Shivaji charging the Bundela hero with a heroic mission.

". . . Go to your country, organise resistance and put the Turks to the sword. Enshrine in your heart the lord of Braj and unsheath your sword. 'He' will protect you, doubt it not. Kshatriyas are ordained to follow the profession of sword, to protect the cows, Vedas and Brahmins and to crush the haughty. If they die by the thrust of sword, they attain Moksha and proceed to heaven and if they gain victory, they are called the lord of the earth. You are brave and destined to enjoy the possession of lands. If I keep you here the credit (for your achievements) will be mine. Therefore, proceed to your country and destroy the Mughals. . ."[25]

Against this, the cold narrative of the historian Bhimsen reads insipid and unfair to the great Maratha hero, whom, his slavish Mughal mentality could hardly appreciate. He remarks, "But since he (Shivaji) had little confidence and faith in the men of Hindustan, he showed him some favours and affections but sent him back."[26] This statement of Bhimsen seems to have been inspired by his association with his patron Dalpat Rao Bundela who and his father Subh Karan were not favourably inclined towards Champat Rai or his sons and viewed with serious misgivings the activities of the rising Bundela chief. At any rate his statement smacks of the mentality of a hardened imperialist and a northerner's prejudice against the south.

Shivaji sent Chhatrasal back to Bundelkhand, as Sir J.N. Sarkar rightly observes, "to distract the Mughal forces"[27] and thereby lessen the Mughal impact on his own possessions. Thus, a noble flame was lighted in Chhatrasal to burn out the age-old debris of servitude from Bundelkhand and light other patroitic fires everywhere north of the Narmada, to the consternation of the implacable bigot Aurangzib.

[25] Ch. P., pp. 79-80.

[26] Bhimsen, p. 101.

[27] Aur. V., p. 393.

III

Chhatrasal Prepares for Action

Chhatrasal, acting on the advice of Shivaji, again crossed the Bhima but before proceeding to Bundelkhand, he paid a visit to Subh Karan Bundela who was then in the Deccan, in order to ascertain his attitude towards the forthcoming struggle with the Mughals and to try the possibility of securing his assistance in the enterprise.[28] But Subh Karan refused to ally himself with Chhatrasal and tried to dissuade him from his mad project. He even made an offer to obtain a suitable mansab for Chhatrasal.[29]

The cause of Chhatrasal then seemed hopeless. He had no resources, no ally, no large following and no foothold in Bundelkhand. But just then an opportunity provided itself to Chhatrasal. Fidai Khan, the Governor of Gwalior, assembled an army of 1,800 horse with intentions to advance upon Orchha, and demolish its famous temples. Sujan Singh, the ruler of Orchha, was then serving in the Mughal army in the Deccan. The Bundelas combined under Dharamangad and repulsed Fidai Khan with heavy lossess in an encounter near Dhoomghat.[30]

When Sujan Singh received the news of this intended attack on his capital, he was greatly perturbed for the safety of his possessions. It was about this time that the news of Chhatrasal's intended return to Bundelkhand and his determination to raise the disturbances against the imperialists in the region also trickled in. This caused additional anxiety to Sujan Singh for he had actively helped the Mughals against Champatrai and was now afraid of Chhatrasal's retaliatory measures to avenge

[28] Subh Karan of Datia was serving in the imperial army in the Deccan.

[29] Ch. P., p. 81 (Bhimsen p. 61; Ch. P., p. 80; M.U. II, p. 318.

[30] Ch. P., p. 82; Bhimsen, p. 46; M.U. II, p. 293.
Dhoomghat is near Dabra which is about 32 miles north of Jhansi.
Chhatrasal in one of his letters to his son Jagatraj (P.R. 59 dated 5 October 1730) assigns the whole credit of this victory to himself, while the poet of Ch. P. makes even no reference to the participation of Chhatrasal in the battle. Chhatrasal could not have taken part in it, since he was then in the Deccan.

the death of his father. Therefore in order to placate Chhatrasal he sent urgent messengers to summon him. Chhatrasal was accorded a warm welcome. Old family feuds were forgotten and past offences were forgiven, and Sujan Singh promised support to Chhatrasal in his noble and patriotic venture.[31]

Chhatrasal next met his cousin Baldivan or Baldau at Aurangabad and laid before him his plans. Baldau had a momentary hesitation but when the lot was drawn in favour of the enterprise of Chhatrasal, he readily agreed to join him.[32] Now Chhatrasal crossed the Narmada and entered Bundelkhand (1671 A.D.) with a firm determination to unite all the Bundelas and efface the Mughal rule from his country. Chhatrasal had just completed his twenty-first year and was accompanied only by five horse-men and twenty-five foot-men.[33]

In the meanwhile Baldiwan had arrived at Bagauda.[34] Chhatrasal met him there and then proceeded to Bijori[35] to enlist the support of his brother Ratan Shah. But the latter ridiculed the project of Chhatrasal as not less absurd than "the painting without a canvas." Chhatrasal stayed with him for about eighteen days but he refused to respond to his entreaties.

[31] Ch. P., pp. 83-86; P.R. 60 (Ch. S. to Jag., 9 October 1730).
According to this letter (P.R. 60), this meeting between Chhatrasal and Sujan Singh took place at Orchha, which was, however, not possible for the following reasons:
(i) Chhatrasal had not yet crossed the Narmada on his way back home;
(ii) After the meeting with Sujan Singh, he met his cousin Baldau who was at Aurangabad (Ch. P., p. 87).
(iii) When Chhatrasal arrived in Bundelkhand in 1671 A.D. (Sam. 1728), Sujan Singh had already died in the Deccan in the 11th year of the reign of Aurangzib (4 February 1668-22 January 1669). M. U. II, p. 293; Ch. P., p. 89.

[32] Ch. P., pp. 87-8.

[33] Ch. P., p. 89.
Some of these thirty warriors who formed the retinue of Chhatrasal belonged to higher castes and few others were of the backward and lower sections of Hindu society. For example, Kunwar Narain Das, Govind Rai, Dalsah Misra and Sundermani Pawar were Rajputs and Brahmins; Kharge Bari was a barber, Pambal Dhimar, a fisherman. There was also one Foje Miyan, a Muslim. Thus from the very beginning Chhatrasal was liberal in the selection of his followers.

[34] There is one Bagauta, 2 miles south of Chhatarpur.

[35] Bijori is about 59 miles south of Chhatarpur.

When Chhatrasal left Bijori, he was joined by Baldivan. The two brothers then proceeded to Odera[36] where one Baqi Khan met them and pledged his support.[37] Now Chhatrasal was elected leader and his share in the booty was fixed at fifty five per cent while that of Baldivan to the remainder.[38]

Till now Chhatrasal had no army worth the name. His following consisted of only thirty horse (*Sawan*) and three hundred foot (*Piada*). But the wanton attack of Fidai Khan on Orchha and the subsequent policy of temple destruction inaugurated by Emperor Aurangzib which had outraged the sentiments of the local populace, provided Chhatrasal with the opportunity to stand forth as the champion of Hindu religion and Bundela liberty. The people had not forgotten Champat Rai. They strongly desired for someone who would emulate the heroic exploits of Champat Rai and protect them and their religion from the onslaughts of militant Islam. Therefore, Chhatrasal received enthusiastic support from all the sections of the population. All those who were desirous of offering resistance to the Mughals and wrecking their revenge on them, hastened to join Chhatrasal. The old and veteran soldiers and comrades-in-arms of Champat Rai, who were leading miserable existence since the death of their beloved leader, flocked to the standards of his son.[39] Petty chieftains and jagirdars who could not resist Chhatrasal and also those who wanted to mend their fortunes by sword, allied themselves with him. Chhatrasal thus gradually gathered strength enough to challenge the Mughal rule over the land of his ancestors.

[36] There is one Onder about 20 miles north east of Sironj.

[37] Ch. P., p. 93; P.R. 61 (Ch. S. to Jag., 20 October 1730).
Baqi Khan is called a Bundela in Chhatra Prakash. But Sir J.N. Sarkar takes him to be "an Afghan brigand chief settled in the district and a natural enemy of the Mughal..." (Aur. V, p. 395).

[38] Ch. P., pp. 89-90, 93-94; P.R. 61.

[39] Ch. P., p, 94.

THREE

EARLY STRUGGLES OF CHHATRASAL 1671-1707

I

Preliminary Encounters, 1671-1673

Chhatrasal started his career of rebellion or precarious independence in 1671 A.D.[1] and within the short period of a year, he established his lawless authority round about Mau.[2]

Then Chhatrasal led an attack on the Dhandheras to avenge the death of his father Champatrai.[3] The Dhandheras offered a tough resistance but proved no match to Chhatrasal. They suffered a crushing defeat and took shelter within the walls of the fortress of Sahra.[4] The Bundelas laid siege to it and only an unconditional surrender saved the Dhandheras from utter ruin. They were completely humbled and the ties of friendship were cemented by the marriage of Chhatrasal with a Dhandhera

[1] P.R.69 (Ch.S. to Jag., March 1731) Ch.P., p.89.
According to the letter these territories yielded a revenue of about 12 lacs (most probably *dams*).
All the letters of Chhatrasal which detail all these early struggles were written about fifty years later and hence cannot be fully relied upon.

[2] Mau is four miles south of Nowgong in Madhya Pradesh.

[3] This attack was most probably made on Sahra where Champatrai took refuge and was betrayed. Sahra was in the Sarkar Sarangpur of Subah Malwal.

[4] Ch. P., p. 94.
According to Gore, it was the fortress of Sakarhati (Gore, p. 182).
Ch. P., however, does not mention the name of the fort. But most probably, it was Sahra which is supposed to be the place invaded by Chhatrasal. See footnote 3 above.

princess.[5]

Chhatrasal now marched towards Sironj (in Malwa). But his reputation had travelled ahead of him and Muhammad Hashim, the *Faujdar* of the place, and Chaudhari Anand Rai Banka made preparation to meet the Bundela invasion. In the meanwhile, one Keshari Singh Dhandhera also joined Chhatrasal at Kundagiri.[6] The Bundelas then marched in the direction of Sironj. The Mughal forces under Hashim and Chaudhari Banka came out to give battle. About fifty soldiers were slain on the side of Hashim. The Bundelas emerged triumphant and the scattered forces of the enemy fled pell mell to take the shelter within the walls of Sironj. Chhatrasal, without wasting his time in a regular siege of the town, took the more profitable buisness of plundering the neighbouring villages.[7]

The Bundelas then moved to the region round Oder,[8] where they captured one Jait Patel, a rich man of local importance who could only secure his release by the payment of a heavy ransom.[9] On his return march, Chhatrasal plundered Piparhat and encamped at Dhaura Sagar,[10] where a number of Gonds and a local *Zamindar* Damaji Rai joined him.[11] Then he proceeded to Chitrakoot[12] to give rest to his soldiers and replenish his resources.

After sometime Chhatrasal resumed his predatory activities and the terror of his plundering expeditions spread far and

5 Ch. P., p. 95.
The name of the princess was Dan Kanwar. She was the daughter of Hirde Shah who was the brother of Kunwar Sen under whom the Dhandheras were supposed to have fought the Bundelas. (Gore., p. 183).

6 Ch. P., p. 95. He is said to have been sent by Kunwar Sen Dhandhe, who had married his niece to Chhatrasal. Gore., p. 183.

7 Ch. P., p. 95.

8 There is one Onder 20 miles northeast of Sironj.

9 P.R. 67 (Ch. S. to Jag., 25 February 1731).
But according to Ch. P. (p. 96), Chhatrasal took pity on the Patel and released him unconditionally. Chhatrasal's statement in the letter seems to be more correct and hence is preferred.

10 There is one Dauri Sagar in Tahsil Mahroni of *Pargana* Mandor in Jhansidi strict.

11 Ch. P., p. 96.

12 Chitrakoot is about 35 miles southeast of Banda.

wide. Khaliq, the *Faujdar* of Dhamoni[13], established military outposts in every village and assembled forces to ward off the anticipated invasion of Chhatrasal. The latter, however, after having sacked Patharia[14] and the neighbouring villages in the territory of Dhamoni, started moving towards the hilly region of Sidgaon, where he encountered the forces of Khaliq. In this fight, Chhatrasal seems to have suffered a reverse.[15] He then returned to Mau.[16]

Chhatrasal next plundered Chandrapur[17] and sometime later on moved towards Maihar.[18] The tribute was levied and the ransom was extorted from its Baghela chief.[19] Soon afterwards, a second engagement with Khaliq took place at Ranigir[20] in 1672 A.D. (Sam. 1729) in which the Bundelas avenged their former defeat.[21] The Mughal standards, kettle drums and guns were seized. Khaliq, however, escaped with his shattered forces.[22] Chhatrasal himself received sword wounds in this encounter. The military outposts were established and the Bundelas returned to Mau, which had been their base of operations.[23]

After a short rest, Chhatrasal again moved towards the territories of Dhamoni. Near Bansa,[24] he encountered the forces

13 Dhamoni is 24 miles north of Saugor.

14 Patharia is 30 miles east of Saugor.

15 P.R. 69 (Ch. S. to Jag., 9 March 1731).
But according to Ch. P. (p. 97), Khaliq was defeated in this first encounter. The version of the letter is obviously more correct.

16 Mau is 4 miles south of Nowgong.

17 Chandrapur is about 12 miles southwest of Dhamoni.

18 Maihar is about 47 miles southeast of Panna.

19 Maihar was, then, ruled by a boy chief, under the regency of his mother. One Madhav Singh Gujar was the commander of his army. The fort of Maihar was captured by the Bundelas and Madhav Singh taken prisoner. The Jagirdar obtained the release of his commander, on a promise to pay Rs. 3,000 annually to the Bundelas. Gore., p. 184.

20 On the bank of Deohar river 16 miles southeast of Saugor.

21 Ch, P. p. 97; P.R. 69. (Ch.S. to Jag., 9 March 1731).

22 P.R. 69. (Ch.S. to Jag., 9 March 1731).

23 P.R. 69.

24 Bansa is about 16 miles southwest of Saugor.

of Keshavrai Dangi, the Jagirdar of the place.[25] The latter was a warrior of no mean repute. He threw an open challenge to Chhatrasal to decide the issue in a single combat. Chhatrasal is said to have had accepted the challenge. To all accounts, the combat was a serious one. But ultimately, Chhatrasal brought his adversary down by a well-aimed arrow and beheaded him.[26] The hostile forces were then easily dispersed and most of the Dangi soldiers were put to the sword. Chhatrasal himself received serious wounds, which detained him at Bansa for about two months. He utilised the period in strengthening his hold over the territories of Bansa. The revenues of its Jagirs are said to have amounted to thirty three lacs.[27]

Chhatrasal was no doubt a ruthless warrior, profuse in bloodshed, but he was nevertheless a chivalrous foe, considerate towards the fallen enemy. After his recovery from wounds, he summoned Vikram Singh, the son of Keshavrai, and restored the Jagirs of his father to him. In addition to it, he conferred another jagir of fifty thousand with a title on him.[28] Then Chhatrasal marched towards Patari and after having subjected it to heavy plunder, moved to the lands of Baqi Khan,[29]

[25] According to a letter (P.R. 43 Ch.S. to Jag., 6 April 1730) the single combat took place in the year 1675 (Sam. 1732). The dates given in these letters relating to the early struggles ofChhatrasal can only be relied upon when they are corraborated by some other source. Here the sequence of events as given in Ch. P. and confirmed by the letters of Chhatrasal, has been followed, unless of course a change was necessitated by the information available in the contemporary Akhbarats or Persian texts.

[26] P.R. 19 (Ch S. to Jag., 23 August 1724).
Ibid., 43 (Ch. S. to Jag., 6 April 1730).
According to Ch. P., Keshavrai was brought down by a stroke of club. The version of the letters has been followed in the text, because both the letters, though written at an interval of about six years, maintain that Keshavrai fell down on being pierced through by an arrow.

[27] P.R. 19, 43.
Whether the revenues were assessed in *Dams* or Rupees is not ascertainable by the letter. But most probably they were *Dams* as in vogue throughout northern India under the Mughal empire.

[28] P.R., 19, 43; Gore., p. 186.

[29] Baqi Khan Bundela (Ruhela according to J.N. Sarkar, Aur. V, p. 395) was on friendly terms with Chhatrasal. His lands were most probably on the borders of Malwa.
Ch. P. p. 99; P.R. 61 (Ch.S. to Jag., 20 October 1730).

where he stayed for some days. It was here that he once went out a hunting accompanied by only six or seven of his chosen warriors. Spies reported the news to a local officer Sayyid Bahadur who at once surrrounded Chhatrasal on all sides. But somehow the followers of Chhatrasal getting a scent of this ambush hastened in time to his rescue. The Mohammadan forces suffered heavily and the designs of Sayyid Bahadur were foiled. Chhatrasal then captured Saugor and posted there a garrison of two thousand with seven guns. Then he returned to Mau.[30]

II

Ruhullah Khan sent to Bundelkhand, 1673

The Mughal authority was set at naught and chaos and confusion reigned supreme in the territories round about Dhamoni. These recurring raids of Chhatrasal in that region, greatly unnerved Khaliq the *Faujdar* of Dhamoni. He sent urgent messengers to Bahadur Khan Koka,[31] who was then probably at the imperial court, imploring him for immediate help. When this was reported to the Emperor he sent Ruhullah Khan (23 March-April 1673) to take the charge of Dhamoni with express orders to suppress Chhatrasal and his brothers.[32] He was accompanied by twenty-two officers of rank. The chief of various neighbouring states including Datia, Orchha, Chanderi, etc. and the other local Mughal officers were ordered to render every assistance to the new Faujdar against Chhatrasal.[33]

[30] P.R. 19, 43; Ch. P., p. 99-100.

[31] Ch. P., p. 104. Bahadur Khan's original name was Mir Malik Husain. His mother suckled Prince Aurangzib. When Aurangzib was proceeding to Agra to contest the succession he gave Mir Malik Husain the title of Bahadur Khan.(M.U. Eng., p. 783-784; M.A. pp. 4, 11, 38, 79, 88, etc.).

[32] M.A., p. 79. Lal Kavi the poet of Ch. P. (p. 104), gives the name as Randullah Khan which may be most probably a mistake for Ruhullah Khan. See Aur. V, p. 396, Footnote.

[33] Ch. P., p. 104. In Ch. P. this campaign of Ruhullah Khan is preceded by a fight between Chhatrasal and Munawwar Khan. Here the order of

Ruhullah Khan advanced with a large army towards Garhakota[34] where Chhatrasal was then encamped. The battle which began in the afternoon, continued till night. The Bundelas, ultimately, by their tough resistance repelled the Mughal forces with heavy losses and Ruhullah Khan was forced to beat a retreat. Chhatrasal on his way back to Mahewa plundered the adjacent territories of Dhamoni.[35]

Emboldened by his initial successes, Chhatrasal now enlarged the sphere of activities. He invaded Narwar[36] and acquired a rich booty. Even the imperial convoys carrying presents and other supplies to the court were not spared. Alarming news were reported to the Emperor, who, therefore, fined Ruhullah Khan and ordered him to suppress the rebels with the help of a contingent of the Turks.[37] Ruhullah Khan again advanced with a strong army and encountered the Bundelas at Basia.[38] In the engagement that followed the Bundelas made a dash upon the Mughal artillery. One Samar was then distributing the gun-powder among the gunners. In the confusion created by the tumultuous rush of the Bundelas, the magzine caught fire. Taking advantage of the panic, the Bundelas swooped upon the enemy and dispersed them.[39]

It was most probably shortly after this battle with Ruhullah Khan that Chhatrasal marched with his forces into the territories of Orchha.[40] Sujan Singh, the former ruler of Orchha,

the events has been reversed and the campaign of Ruhullah Khan is placed first. According to M.A. 79, Ruhullah Khan was appointed *Faujdar* of Dhamoni in March-April 1673, while Munawwar Khan received the *Faujdari* of Rath, Mahoba, etc. some time in between 28 November 1677 and 15 April 1678 (M.A., p. 101). Therefore, it is obvious that the events relating to Ruhullah Khan must have occurred before this appointment of Munawwar Khan.

34 Garahkota is about 28 miles east of Saugor.

35 Ch. P., pp. 105-6; P.R. 45.
Mahewa is 10 miles north west of Chhatarpur.

36 Narwar is about 40 miles south of Gwalior.

37 Ch. P., p. 107.

38 Basia is about 10 miles west of Saugor.

39 Ch. P., pp. 107-8.

40 This invasion of the Orchha territories in the region of Indramani (1668-1677) is placed in Ch. P. (p. 117) after the battles of Chhatrasal with Tahawwar Khan, which is impossible, since Tahawwar Khan seems to

who was friendly to Chhatrasal died in 1668[41] and was succeeded by his younger brother Indramani (1668-August 1677). The latter not only displayed a hostile attitude towards Chhatrasal but courted further bitterness by providing assistance to the Mughal officers deputed against him. Greatly enraged, Chhatrasal, now directed his plundering expeditions into the territories of Orchha. His forces descended on Garotha,[42] Jiron,[43] Jatara[44] and Kakar Kachnai[45] and advanced as far as the river Betwa, on the banks of which Orchha is situated. Indramani, finding himself unable to repel the forces of Chhatrasal, had recourse to the conciliatory policy which his predecessor Sujan Singh had adopted in his last years.[46] Nevertheless, his actions must have disclosed to Chhatrasal the extent to which he could rely on the rulers of Orchha, who were alive to their own interests rather than to those of their country and the people.[47]

have been posted in Bundelkhand between November 1978 (when he was removed from the *faujdari* of Gudh (16 October—6 November 1678—M.A., p. 136) and March 1679 (when he was appointed the *faujdar* of Ajmer—M.A. p. 107 while Indramani had died between 15 August and 28 October 1677 (M.A. p. 99).
This event cannot also be placed before the campaign of Munawwar Khan against Chhatrasal as the former was appointed the *faujdar* of Rath and Mahoba between 28 November 1677 and 15 April 1678 (M.A., p. 101) when Indramani was already dead. (August-October 1677).
Therefore it is highly probable that this invasion of Orchha territories occurred after the encounters with Ruhullah Khan, who received assistance from Orchha which might have prompted this punitive expedition of Chhatrasal.

41 M.U. II, pp. 293. He died in the 11th year of the reign of Aurangzib (4 February 1668-22 January 1669).

42 Garotha is about 16 miles west of Rath.

43 Jiron is 8 miles south of Lalitpur.

44 Jatara is about 16 miles south of Mauranipur on road to Tikamgarh.

45 Kakar Kachnai is about 27 miles east of Jhansi, near Teharka station on Central Railway (Jhansi-Mauranipur line).

46 Ch. P., p. 117.

47 Chhatrasal could never trust the rulers of Orchha. In his letters to his sons and officer he has repeatedly advised them to be on guard against the designs of the Orchha chiefs. See P.R. 62, 63.

III

His Sphere of Influence Widens, 1675-1679

Sometime in the year 1675, Chhatrasal moved in the direction of Panna,[48] which was then held by a Gond chief, who was ousted from there and instead of it, was given a jagir in the neighbourhood.[49] Panna now became the capital of Chhatrasal, but Mau still remained his base of operations.

In November 1677, Chhatrasal raised disturbances in the neighbourhood of Raisin[50] and about a month or two afterwards he led plundering expeditions into the territories of Gwalior. He proceeded as far as Dhoom Ghat[51] where Munawwar Khan[52], the Faujdar of Rath and Maheba took the field against him. In the encounter that followed the Mohammadans were put to flight and the Bundelas, according to the exaggerated accounts given by Lal Kavi and Chhatrasal, closely following on the heels of the fleeing enemy entered the environs of Gwalior. The booty amounting to about nine lakhs fell into the hands of Chhatrasal.[53] Somewhat later on, Muhammad Hashim and Annadrai engaged the turbulent Bundelas near the jungles of Katia, but they failed to achieve any notable success against them.[54] Shortly, afterwards Chhatrasal also plundered Patharia,[55] Damoh,[56] etc. in the region round Dhamoni and Saugor.

These early and rapid successes of Chhatrasal spread his fame far and wide. The superstition of the Mughal invincibility was broken. It greatly dispelled the fears and scruples of many wavering chiefs of Bundelkhand, who till then enter-

[48] Panna is 42 miles west of Satna in Vindhya Pradesh.
[49] P.R. 46.
[50] Ruqqat Hamiduddin, p. 31. Raisin is about 12 miles south of Bhitsa.
[51] Dhoom Ghat is in Pawayan which is about 6 miles from Dabra, a station on Central Railway about 32 miles south of Gwalior.
[52] One Munnawwar Khan was appointed *Faujdar* of Rath, Mahoba, etc. sometimes between 28 November 1677 and 15 April 1678 (M.A., p. 101).
[53] Ch. P., p. 100-101; P.R. 44.
[54] Ch. P., p. 101.
[55] Patharia is 30 miles east of Saugor.
[56] Damoh is about 46 miles east of Saugor.

tained doubts, about the success of Chhatrasal against the Mughals. Most of them now flocked to the standards of the son of Champat. His brother Ratan Shah who had on a previous occasion declared his projects to be most impracticable, now hastened to join him. Another brother Angad, Amar Diwan, Prithviraj, Jam Shah, Gaj Singh of Katera[57] and the chief of Shahgurh[58] and many others gathered round Chhatrasal. According to the author of *Chhatra Prakash* seventy princes of note, most of whom were the relatives of Chhatrasal now allied themselves with him[59] Nevertheless, Chhatrasal's achievements failed to make any impression on the Bundela chiefs of Datia, Orchha and Chanderi, who continued to be loyal to the Mughal Emperor and readily joined expeditions sent against him. Thus in September 1678, Jaswant Singh of Orchha headed an expedition to punish the 'sons of Champat'[60]

Chhatrasal had the sagacity not to underrate the odds of a long drawn struggle with the Mughals. He was particularly conscious of his own limited resources. Then, there were enemies among his own people, who would only rejoice over his fall. Chhatrasal, therefore, thought it wise to temporise for sometime and so offered submission to Prince Muazzam[61] He sought pardon for his offences and expressed his willingness to join the imperial service. Prince Muazzam promised to intercede on his behalf with the Emperor and conferred a Khilat (dress of honour) on him.[62] But apparenty, he could not do much for Chhatrasal just then.

On the eve of the invasion of Rajputana, the Emperor deputed Tahawwar Khan[63] to proceed against Chhatrasal.

[57] Katera is about 20 miles east of Orchha.
[58] Shahgarh is 50 miles southwest of Chhatarpur.
[59] Ch. P., pp. 101-103.
[60] M.A., p. 105; M.U. Vol. II, p. 294.
[61] This communication most probably was sent just after Jaswant Singh Bundela led the expedition against Chhatrasal in September 1678.
[62] Royal letter of Shah Muazzam to Chhatrasal (P.R. 101, 6 May 1679). At this time, Muazzam was in the Deccan as Subahdar (appointed on 18 September 1678). M.A., p. 104-105.
[63] Tahawwar Khan was posted in Bundelkhand of to suppress Chhatrasal and his brothers, sometime in the early months of the year 1679 as is

On his arrival in Bundelkhand Tahawwar Khan at once marched to Sabar[64] where the marriage of Chhatrasal was being celeberated. In the battle that ensued, the Bundelas fought fiercely, and Tahawwar Khan was forced to withdraw with heavy losses[65]

Another engagement between Chhatrasal and Tahawwar Khan took place near Ram Nagar.[66] But the imperialists failed to gain any definite advantage over the Bundelas, who having repelled the enemy moved down to Birgarh.[67] The pass of Birgarh was strongly guarded but the Bundelas after heavy fighting forced their way and attacked Patna[68] which they plundered and set to fire. In the meanwhile, Tahawwar Khan, who had not left the neighbourhood even after his reverse at Ram Nagar, moved in that direction to quell the disturbances raised by the Bundelas. When the Mughal forces came nearer, Chhatrasal with his army vanished behind the surrounding jungles and hills. One day it so happened, that Chhatrasal climbed up a hill and was enjoying the sight of tank, when Tahawwar Khan arrived with a large force. He had received information of Chhatrasal's presence on that hill and, therefore, he surrounded it. The Mughals began the ascent on the hill and the stray arrows of Chhatrasal proved ineffective. But just then the Bundelas got the news of this attack and they hastened to the rescue of their beloved leader. Led by Lachhe Rawat and

evidenced by Akhbarats dated 26 November 1679 and 24 October 1680. Here it is to be noted that towards the close of October 1678 or the beginning of November 1678, Tahawwar Khan was removed from the *faujari* of Oudh (M.A., p. 106) and in the March 1679, he was appointed as the *Faujdar* of Ajmer. (M.A., p. 107). Raja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur had died on 10 December 1678 (M.A., p. 106). As the poet of Chhatra Prakash mentions that Tahawwar Khan was sent against Chhatrasal on the eve of Rajputana campaign (p. 108), it is highly probable that Tahawwar Khan would have been posted in Bundelkhand sometime in between November 1678 and March 1679. Later on he joined Prince Akbar in Rajputana. See also M.A., pp. 112, 116, 123, etc.

64 Sabar is untraceable, there is one Sayar about 16 miles south of Hamirpur.

65 Ch. P., p. 109.

66 P.R 47. There is one Ramnagar about 2 miles west of Kalinjar.

67 Birgarh is about 13 miles southeast of Kalinjar.

68 One Patna is about 4 miles southeast of Birgarh, while another is about 3 miles south of Birgarh.

Bagraj Parihar the Bundelas successfully held the Mughals at bay and foiled all their attempts to storm the hill. Hari Krishna Misra, Nandan Chipi and Kirparam, the valiant commanders of the Bundelas fell dead, but Chhatrasal made good his escape.[69]

Tahawwar Khan once again took the field against Chhatrasal and engaged him near Hamirpur.[70] After heavy fighting the Bundelas came out victorious and Tahawwar Khan was forced to beat a retreat with the remnant of his army.[71]

About November 1679, Chhatrasal and his brothers plundered Irij[72] and its neighbouring territories. The houses were set on fire and the Mohammadans fled in panic. Similarly Panwari[73] was also sacked. The agent of the sons of Subha Karan Bundala,[74] who was then in charge of both the parganas, did not even make a show of resistance and sedulously avoided any engagement with the Bundelas.[75] About the same time Chhatrasal also ravaged the territories of Dhamoni. Sadruddin, the local *Faujdar*, failed to rise to the occasion and consequently his rank was decreased.[76]

IV

Temporary Submission, December 1679

The continued failure of the Mughal officers posted in Bundelkhand, to check the predatory activities of Chhatrasal alarmed the Emperor. Himmat Khan, the *subahdar* of Allahabad, who was then in Rajasthan with Prince Akbar,[77] Pahar Singh

69 This whole account is based on P.R. 47 and Ch. P., pp. 110-12.

70 Hamirpur is about 28 miles southeast of Kalpi.

71 P.R. 48. Tahawwar Khan was appointed *Faujdar* of Ajmer in March 1679. M.A., p. 107.

72 Irij is 34 miles northwest of Panwari.

73 Panwari is about 25 miles northwest of Mahoba.

74 Subh Karan Bundela the Raja of Datia had died in the 21st year of the reign. (18 October 1677-6 October 1678). M.U. II, p. 319.

75 Akh., 17 November 1979 and another Akh. probably of 19 November 1679.

76 Akh., 18 November 1679.

77 M.A., pp. 92, 94 and 112.

Gaur, the zamindar of Indarkhi[78] and Amanullah Khan, the Faujdar of Gwalior were given stringent orders to suppress the 'sons of Champat'.[79]

Chhatrasal, in view of the heavy odds now arrayed against him, deemed further resistance quite futile and simply suicidal. Therefore, he offered submission through Tahawwar Khan who was then posted at Mandal (near Ajmer in Rajputana,[80] and was presented to the Emperor at the imperial camp at Phagwal on the 13 December 1679.[81]

But soon after his return to Bundelkhand, Chhatrasal again resumed his predatory activities round about Kalpi,[82] which prompted some official in the neighbourhood named Abdus Samad to proceed against him. The latter marched to Shadipur[83] where he had an encounter with the Bundelas. The latter suffered a defeat. Angad, the brother of Chhatrasal, received wounds and fled from the battlefield with his remaining forces. Abdus Samad was rewarded with an increase in his rank by *100 zat* and *100 sawars*.[84]

But the defeat at the hands of Abdus Samad did not in any way dampen the spirit of Chhatrasal who continued his desultory warfare. Hence, fresh orders were issued on 26 February 1680, to Randullah Khan, *Faujdar* of the region round Sironj, Hifzullah Khan, the Faujdar of Narwar and Pahar Singh Gaur to suppress the 'sons of Champat'.[85] On receiving the intelligence of the renewed efforts of Mughul officers, Chhatrasal shrewdly enough became quiet just then, in order to lull the Mughuls into inaction. His brother Angad also applied to

78 Indarkhi is 43 miles east of Gwalior.

79 Akh. 17, 19, 26 November 1679.

80 M.A. p. 112. Tahawwar Khan was sent to occupy Mandal and other *parganas* (26 October-24 November 1679).

81 Akh., 13 December 1679. Chhatrasal presented a Mohur to the Emperor. Phagwal must be somewhere in between Ajmer and Mandal, for the Emperor marched from Ajmer on the 30 November 1679 and reached Mandal sometime in December. There he stayed till 3 January 1680. M.A., 112, 114. Bhagwal or Phagwal is untraceable in the map.

82 Akh., 22 February 1680.

83 Shadipur is *pargana* Sumerpur Tahsil and District Hamirpur.

84 Akh., 22 February 1680.

85 Akh., 26 February 1680.

Khan Jahan Bahadur for being taken into the imperial service.[86] But hardly a month had elapsed, when Chhatrasal once again resumed his predatory activities.

One Sheikh Anwar proceeded against the refractory Bundela chieftain and engaged him near Khairagarh.[87] But the Sheikh was defeated and taken prisoner while attempting to escape. He, however, secured his release on the payment of the sum of rupees two lacs.[88] Khairagarh and its dependencies fell into the possession of Chhatrasal.[89]

Now on 14 April 1680, Mir Sadruddin, the *Faujdar* of Dhamoni, was ordered to proceed against Chhatrasal and his brothers.[90] Sadruddin sent his agents to Chhatrasal, commanding him to submit to the imperial authority without delay, failing which he threatened Chhatrasal with dire consequences of a full-scale Mughal invasion of his territories. But Chhatrasal paid no heed to these threats and made a counter demand for chauth from the Mir. Compromise with such an adversary was quite impossible. Sadruddin enlisted the aid of the neighbouring Mughal officers and marched stealthily with a strong force

86 Akh., 6 March 1680.

87 There is one Khairagarh in Madhya Pradesh (about 130 miles south of Jubbulpore). But the reference does not seem to refer to this Khairagarh as it is far removed from the sphere of Chhatrasal's activities.
This Khairagarh may be Khairabad in Sarkar Gagraon Subhah Malwa (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 220) a surmise which receives some support from Akh. dated 26 July 1699, which relates that Sher Afghan conquered *pargana* Gagraon held by Garibdas, the son of Chhatrasal for twenty years Also see Aur., V, p. 398.

88 P.R. 75; Ch. P., pp. 118-20.
The letter mentions Sam. 1759 (1702 A.D.) as the year of this battle, which is quite unreliable. Chhatrasal makes a very similar mistake with regard to the battle with Shah Quli (P.R. 79) which he places in Sam. 1761 (1704 A.D.), while from the Akhbarats we learn that Shah Quli was called back to the court with decreased Mansab in January 1683 (Akh., 13 January 1683).
In Ch P. (pp. 118-120) the battle with Anwar Khan is placed before the engagement with Sadruddin. Moreover, it is to be noted that the early battles related in Ch. P. took place between 1670 and 1683 A.D., the battle with Shah Quli being the last. Therefore, here the sequence of events, as given in Ch. P., has been followed.

89 P.R. 75 (Ch. S. to Jag., 17 June 1731).

90 Akh., 14 April 1680.

towards Chilga Naurangabad,[91] where Chhatrasal was then encamped and caught the Bundelas unawares. But once the first shock of the surprise attack was over, the Bundelas turned fiercely upon the enemy. Ram Mani Dauwa led an attack on the vanguard of the enemy. Narain Das, Ajitrai, Balkrishna, Gangaram Chaube and Meghraj Parihar displayed great valour and caused confusion in the Mughal ranks. Chhatrasal received wounds. Bargidas, a notable commander of Sadruddin and many others fell on the Mughal side. Sadruddin was taken prisoner. He paid the chauth and was released.[92] Probably, it was due to this serious reverse that Sadruddin was recalled from the Faujdari of Dhamoni which was now conferred on Afrasiab Khan.[93]

Chhatrasal after this battle returned to Chitrakoot, where one Hamid Khan led an attack on the Bundelas, but was repulsed with heavy losses.[94] Chhatrasal then led his predatory hordes to the vicinity of Kalpi and Irij and laid siege to Kotra.[95] Sayyid Latif the local *Faudjar* put up a determined resistance for some time. But he could not resist the Bundelas for long and purchased the safety of his possessions by paying a heavy ransom.[96] The neighbouring zamindars made some efforts to repulse the Bundelas. They were completely humbled and swore obedience to the Bundelas chief.[97]

Emboldened by his recent successes, Chhatrasal now became

[91] There is one Nauranga 35 miles northwest of Mahoba and 7 miles northwest of Rath.

[92] This whole account is based on P.R. 77 and Ch. P., pp. 121-27.

[93] Akh., 4 September 1680; M.A., p. 127.

[94] Ch. P. p. 128.

[95] Kotra is 14 miles east of Erach (Irij).

[96] P.R. 77; Ch. P., p. 128.
According to the letter Latif fought for four months and was slain, while according to Ch. P. (p. 128) he fought for two months and then paid the ransom money. The period of resistance offered by Latif seems to have been exaggerated in both the accounts.
Ch. P. makes no reference to the death of Sayyid Latif. He is found alive long afterwards, and it was he, who secured the safety of Sher Afghan by paying the ransom. (Ch. P., p. 149). Therefore, probably Chhatrasal's reference to the death of Sayyid Latif in the letter may be slip of senile memory.

[97] P.R. 75 (Ch.S. to Jag., 20 June 1731). Ch. P., pp. 128-29.

bolder in his activities. He led an expedition into the far-off territories of Bhilsa.[98] Abdus Samad, who seems to have been posted as local *faujdar* offered resistance but was beaten back and the Bundelas ravaged the surrounding country.[99]

These recurring Bundela raids into the imperial territories roused the wrath of another Mughal commander, Bahlol Khan, who advanced upon Madiaduh[100] from Dhamoni, with a large force of about nine thousand. The garrison within the fort of Madiaduh was commanded by Jagat Singh Bundela.[101] When the Mughals were about eight miles from Madiaduh, the Bundelas led by Jagat Singh made a surprise attack on the enemy and took a toll of forty lives. But Bahlol Khan moved on forward and laid siege of Madiaduh. The Bundela garrison under Jagat Singh, offered tough resistance. The siege continued for about seven days; but the Mughals failed to obtain any substantial advantage and ultimately abandoned the siege. Then, Bahlol Khan with a view to retrieve his prestige marched to Rajgarh[102] and began a regular siege of the fort. Chhatrasal received intelligence of the designs of Bahlol Khan, and he hastened with an army to relieve the beleaguered garrison. He found Rajgarh surrounded by the enemy. The Mughals were outmanoeuvred by the Bundelas. The commander of the vanguard of the imperialists who was seated on an elephant was killed in an encounter. His elephant driver turned and fled. When Bahlol Khan noticed the seat on the elephant vacant, he was disheartened. He, however, resisted the Bundelas for three days more but on the fourth, he beat a retreat and proceeded to Dhamoni, where he died probably of wounds.[103] Soon after in December 1680,[104] Chhatrasal plundered Khimlasa[105] and

[98] Bhilsa is 30 miles northeast of Bhopal.

[99] P.R. 76; Ch. P., pp. 130-37.

[100] Madiadh or Mariado is about 12 miles north of Hatta.

[101] Ch. P., p. 138-39.
Jagat Singh according to the poet of Ch. P. was the nephew of Chhatarsal.

[102] Rajgarh is about 14 miles west of Panna and 26 miles southeast of Chhatarpur.

[103] Ch. P., pp. 138-40; P.R. 76.

[104] Akh., 15 December 1680.

[105] Khimlasa is 33 miles south of Lalitpur.

Girdhalla.[106]

V

Joins Imperial Service again, August 1681-October 1682

Afrasiab Khan, who had replaced Sadruddin as *Faujdar* of Dhamoni, also could not achieve any notable success against Chhatrasal. Hence, he was called to the court about February 1681,[107] and was probably succeeded by Ikhlas Khan.[108] It seems that Ikhlas Khan, by his tactfulness, stiffened by a show of force, was able to induce Chhatrasal to submit, as within some months, i.e. about August 1681, he is again found serving with the Mughal army in the Deccan. He received *pargana* Khola in Dhamoni on the condition of maintaining 600 *Piada* (foot) and 500 *Sawar* (horse).[109]

Chhatrasal, however, again returned to Bundelkhand after a few months and renewed his hostilities with added vigour. He moved towards Jaso[110] and Suhawal[111] which were plundered and set on fire. After having looted Kutro his forces then descended on *pargana* Mahoba (April 1682). Maudha[112] was sacked and the local *Amil* was so much panic-stricken that he shut himself up in the fortress of Mahoba. Chhatrasal then marched to Sehunda[113] which was then held by Murad Khan, an agent of Diler Khan.[114] Murad attempted to check the loot of his territories but was slain in an encounter and the region round about Sehunda was plundered.[115]

106 There is one Garhola about 12 miles south of Khimalasa.

107 M.A., p. 127. On 1 March 1681 Afrasiab Khan came to the court from his *faujdari* of Dhamoni.

108 Akh., 20 August 1681. Ikhlas Khan is mentioned as the *Faujdar* of Dhamoni.

109 Akh., 20 August 1681.

110 Jaso is 25 miles southeast of Panna.

111 Suhawal is 17 miles northeast of Jaso.

112 Maudha is about 18 miles northwest of Mahoba.

113 Sehunda is 12 miles south of Banda.

114 Akh., 18 April 1682; P.R. 76; Ch. P., pp. 141-43. Sehunda was then the *jagir* of Diler Khan. Ibid.

115 Akh., 18 April 1682; P.R. 76; Ch. P., pp. 141-43.

Shortly afterwards Chhatrasal made incursions into the territories of Dhamoni. Ikhlas Khan, the local *Faujdar* offered resistance to the Bundelas at Garhakota,[116] and was probably killed in the battle. The fort of Garhkota fell into the hands of Chhatrasal who now made it a forward base of his operations against Dhamoni.[117]

After the death of Ikhlas Khan, Shamsher Khan was apointed the *Faujdar* of Dhamoni; but he arrived there late in the month of September 1682.[118] During the period that elapsed between the death of Ikhlas Khan and the arrival of Shamsher Khan, Chhatrasal made several inroads into the territories of Dhamoni.

Early in June 1682, he raided the region round Dhamoni. In absence of the *Faujdar*, Muhammad Kazim, *Waqia navis* of the place took the field against Chhatrasal. The Bundelas were repulsed and Chhatrasal and his brothers received injuries. Kazim received no assistance whatsoever from Pahar Singh and Purdil Khan, the respective *Faujdars* of Ranoda and Bhilsa.[119]

Undeterred by this reverse at the hands of Kazim the *Waqia navis* of Dhamoni, Chhatrasal and his brothers kept the field and continued their predatory raids in the neighbouring region. Nusratgarh, Narsinghgarh,[120] Rangarh[121] etc. now fell into the hands of Bundelas. Emboldened by their successes, they now ventured to push to the vicinity of the fort of Dhamoni, with an intention to plunder the town and capture the fort. Muhammad Kazim again rose equal to the occasion. In concert with *Darogha* Sayyid Sultan, he made preparations to repulse Bandelas and to purchase the necessary arms and ammunition pawned his own jewellery for rupees four thousand. The Bundelas were successfully foiled in their attempt to force

116 Garhakota is about 28 miles east of Saugor.

117 In Akh. of 10 July 1682 Ikhlas Khan is stated to be dead and the Akh. of 28 January 1683, makes a reference to the destruction of the forces of Ikhlas Khan and his death after which the Bundelas occupied Garhakota.

118 Akh., 10 July, 2, 8, and 12 September 1682.

119 Akh., 20 June 1682.

120 Narsinghgarh is 45 miles east of Saugor. There is one Narsinghpur about 10 miles south of Rangarh.

121 Rangarh is 18 miles south of Banda.

their way in the town or to take the fort. Kazim Khan lost some 150 of his men in these encounters.[122]

Shortly afterwards, Chhatrasal raided the territories round about Kalinjar[123] (July 1682). Muhammad Afzal, the *Qiledar* of Kalinjar advanced with a strong force to drive out the Bundelas. In the engagement that followed, the three commanders of the Bundelas were slain and Muhammad Afzal counted two of his own chiefs among the dead. The Bundelas were repulsed and the disturbances caused by them in the neighbourhood were quelled. The Emperor thereupon increased the rank of Muhammad Afzal by one hundred *Sawar* (horse) in recognition of these services.[124]

However, these fresh outbursts of the lawless activities of Chhatrasal once again necessitated strong measures. Basalat Khan who was previously posted at Ajmer was sent on 16 August 1682 to Bundelkhand as the *Faujdar* of Irij and Panwari with definite orders to suppress the 'sons of Champat'.[125]

In the meanwhile, Chhatrasal in alliance with Kalyan Gautam, the *Zamindar* of Pittigarh[126] (*pargana* Nusratgarh) seized Guna.[127] Next he besieged Damoh[128] and during the operation Jagat Singh, the nephew of Champat Rai, received wounds. After heavy fighting the fortress fell to the Bundelas and Chhatrasal appointed one of his trusted followers as the *Qiledar* of the place. When these events were reported to the Emperor, he ordered Shamsher Khan, the *Faujdar* designate of Dhamoni to proceed immediately to his charge and suppress the rebels. Thereupon, Shamsher Khan in obedience to the imperial orders proceeded via Gwalior and Sironj to Dhamoni with a force of 1,500 horse and 2,000 foot.[129]

Chhatrasal badly required some respite from hostilities to

[122] Akh., 10 July 1682.

[123] Kalinjar is 33 miles southeast of Banda.

[124] Akh., 5 August 1682.

[125] Akh., 16 August 1682.

[126] May be Pathargarh 24 miles southeast of Guna and 6 miles east of Dhamoni.

[127] Guna is 20 miles northwest of Dhamoni.

[128] Damoh is 46 miles east of Saugor. The fort of Damoh was on a previous occasion, recovered by Ikhlas Khan from the Bundelas. Akh., 2 September 1682.

[129] Akh., 2, 8 and 12 September 1682.

build up his well nigh exhausted resources. Therefore, he again offered submission and proceeded to the Deccan to serve in the imperial army. He had audience with the Emperor on 30 October 1682 and offered a *nazar* of 18 Asharfis. On the following day his rank of 250 *Sawars* (horse) was increased by 20 *Sawars* (horse). This time Chhatrasal remained with the imperial army serving under Khan Jahan for the next two months. He received further increments in his rank. First he was promoted to the rank of *5 sadi zat*, 400 *Sawar* (horse) and later on 17 December 1682 another 50 *Sawars* (horse) were added to his *Mansab*.[130]

But Chhatrasal as usual became impatient of the yoke and deserted from the Deccan army towards the end of December 1682. He resumed afresh his freebooting incursions from Bundelkhand into the imperial territories. He sacked Jalalpur,[131] Maudha[132], Matondh[133] and their dependencies. Sher Afghan[134] who was posted in the neighbourhood advanced with a strong force to quell the disturbances raised by the Bundelas. The latter were defeated in an encounter, which took place near Matondh. Sher Afgan then marched towards Mau where Chhatrasal had retreated. Chhatrasal came out of his stronghold to give battle. In the action that followed, the Mughals were put to flight and Sher Afghan's safety was secured by Abdul Latif who paid the *chauth* and ransom for him.[135]

[130] Akh., 30, 31 October and 17 December 1682. These Akhbarats conclusively establish that Chhatrasal Bundela served more than once in the imperial army between 1670 and 1704. The statement of Sir J.N. Sarkar that "C.S. Bundela never served under Auranzib between 1670 and 1704" (Aur. V, p. 391, footnote) may require revision in the light of these Akhbarats.

[131] Jalalpur is 25 miles northeast of Banda.

[132] Maudha is 18 miles northwest of Banda.

[133] Matondh is 16 miles south of Maudha.

[134] Sher Afghan was posted at Padwari (tahsil pargana and district Jalaun). Ch.P., p. 146.
Akh. dated 13 January 1683 also confirms that Sher Afghan was posted in Bundelkhand to suppress Chhatrasal. It, however, does not mention the place where he was posted. After the removal of Shah Quli Khan (13 January 1683) he was appointed the *faujdar* of Irij and Rath in which capacity he continued till 29 April 1685 (Akh., 29 April 1685).

[135] P.R. 78; Ch. P., pp. 146-49.
In Akh. dated 13 January 1683, reference is also made to Abdul Latif

Now Shah Quli Khan[136] the *Faujdar* of Rath and Irij, proceeded againt Chhatrasal (December 1682-January 1683). He advanced towards Mau[137] with a large army.[138] One Nand Maharaj was leading the Mughal vanguard. In the preliminary skirmish the Bundelas suffered heavily and lost about 500 men. They now avoided open fights and took to guerilla tactics. The struggle continued for seven days. One midnight the Bundelas occupied strategic positions on the neighbouring hills. The following morning Shah Quli ordered assault and the Mughals began the ascent. The Bundelas were in the position of vantage. When the enemy had covered half the distance uphill, they opened fire, which played havoc on the assailants. Nand Maharaja fell down wounded. The Mughals wavered and fell back. They were hotly pursued by the Bundelas, who now hurled their full weight on the fleeing enemy. The Mughals were completely routed and Shah Quli was taken prisoner. He was later released on the payment of a ransom. This serious reverse of Shah Quli led to his dismissal from the *Faujdari* of Rath and Irij and demotion from his rank. Sher Afgan, who was already posted in Bundelkhand, was now made the *Faujdar* of Rath and Irij.[139]

Shortly, after this Mughal reverse, Shamsher Khan, the *Faujdar* of Dhamoni, advanced towards Garhakota.[140] The Bundelas were ousted from the place after heavy fighting in

who applied unsucceessfully for the *Faujdari* of Rath and Irij after the removal of Shah Quli which, however, was conferred on Sher Afgan.

136 Shah Quli the *Faujdar* of Rath and Irij was transferred from there early in January 1683 (Akh., 13 January 1683). According to Chhatrasal (P.R. 79) this battle took place in Sam. 1761 (1704 A.D.). Date deduced from the Akhbarat is definitely more reliable hence has been accepted here. Chhatrasal was serving under the Mughals till 17 December 1682 and Shah Quli was transferred away early in January 1683, therefore, most possibly this encounter must have taken place sometime between 17 December 1682 and 13 January 1683. Most probably it took place either in the last week of December 1682 or in the first week of January 1683.

137 Mau is 4 miles south of Nowgong.

138 Ch.P., p. 149; P.R. 78, 79.

139 Ch.P., pp. 149-50; P.R. 78, 79; Akh., 13 January 1683.

140 Bundelas had seized it from Ikhlas Khan the former *Faujdar* of Dhamoni after a heavy fighting in which the latter was slain. Akh., 28 January 1683, p. 51.

which the Khan also lost 100 horsemen. Shamsher Khan also recovered the neighbouring territories from the Bundelas and re-established military outposts.[141]

Encouraged by his recent success, Shamsher Khan now marched against the fort of Chhatargarh[142] built by Chhatrasal and laid siege to it. In the siege about 200 Bundelas and sixty soldiers of the Mughal army lost their lives and many more were wounded on both sides. The fort of Chhatargarh ultimately fell to the besiegers.[143]

VI

His Activities from 1683 down to his Submission in 1707

Between February 1683 and April 1699 only stray references to the activities of Chhatrasal are available in the *Akhbarats*. During this period the energies of the Emperor were wholly concentrated on the affairs of the Deccan and, therefore, no determined effort seems to have been made to suppress the irrepressible Bundela.

In this intervening period, Chhatrasal and his brothers overran the neighbouring country. Their attacks were directed against the petty Mughal officers who were in-charge of the local military outposts. They plundered repeatedly the region round Dhamoni. Many smaller *jagirs* and *parganas* like Rath[144], Panwari[145], Mungaoli[146], Jalalpur[147], Muskira[148] etc. were siezed by Chhatrasal. The local Mughal *faujdars* had no alternative but to enter into some sort of secret understanding and buy peace with the Bundelas by agreeing to pay the *chauth* as blackmail. The sphere of the activities of Chhatrasal now extended to the limits of Bhilsa and Ujjain. His resources in

141 Akh., 28 January 1683.

142 Chhatargarh is probably Chhatarpur 12 miles southeast of Nowgong.

143 Akh., 8 February 1783.

144 Rath is 28 miles northwest of Mahoba.

145 Panwari is 26 miles northwest of Mahoba.

146 Mungaoli is 28 miles southwest of Lalitpur.

147 Jalalpur is 13 miles north of Muskira.

148 Mauskira is 26 miles north of Mahoba.

man and material were rapidly increasing and wealth flowed into the coffers by way of plunder, *Chauth* and regular tributes from petty feudal chiefs and Mughal officers.

In the early months of 1685, Pahar Singh Gaur, the *Zamindar* of Indrakhi[149] (in western Bundelkhand), who was then acting as the *Faujdar* of Shahabad[150] rebelled and took to the plunder of imperial territories in Malwa. He was killed by the Mughals in an encounter near Ujjain (October 1685).[151] But his sons, Bhagwant Singh and Devi Singh, continued in rebellion and became allies of Chhatrasal in this war of independence.[152]

Purdil Khan the *Faujdar* of Dhamoni and Bhilsa[153] proceeded against Bhagwat Singh who in cooperation with Chhatrasal was then causing disturbance in the region round Kalpi. In the engagement that followed, Pudril Khan received a musket shot and died.[154] Taking advantage of the death of Pudril Khan, the Bundelas under the sons of Champat plundered the territories of Irij. Ghairat Khan was appointed to the charge of Purdil Khan with express orders to suppress the rebels.[155]

Bhagwant Singh the son of Pahar Singh Gaur was killed near Antri (March 1686)[156] in an encounter with the Mughal troops under Muluk Chand. His brother Devi Singh allied himself with Chhatrasal and continued a predatory career.[157]

During the next few years, Chhatrasal strengthened his hold over the neighbouring territories. He made repeated incursions into the territories of Rath, Hamirpur, Irij and Dhamoni, and annexed portions of their dependencies. The fort of Kalinjar was captured from Karam Ilahi and Chhatrasal appointed

149 Indrakhi is 43 miles east of Gwalior.
150 Shahabad is 90 miles north of Sironj.
151 M.A., p. 163; also Aur. V, pp. 303-8.
152 Iswar 119-b. Aur. V, pp. 305-7.
153 Pudril Khan also received the *Faujdari* of Irij after the transfer of Sher Afgan. Akh., 29 April 1685.
154 Akh., 24 October and 26 November 1685.
Raja Jaswant of Orchha did not provide any assistance to Pudril Khan in this venture. Therefore. his rank was decreased by 5 *sadi* zat. Akh., 26 November 1685.
155 Akh., 24 October 1685.
156 Aur. V, p. 306. Antri is 12 miles south of Gwalior.
157 Iswar 119-b. Aur. V. p. 307.

Mandhata Chaube as the *Qiledar* of that famous fort.[158] In July 1688, Dilawwar Khan the *Faujdar* of Dhamoni proceeded against the 'sons of Champat' and inflicted a severe defeat on them.[159]

It is probably sometime between August 1688 and 1696 that Chhatrasal led an attack on the fort of Dhamoni.[160] But he was repulsed with a heavy loss. Chhatrasal returned to Mahewa.[161] After having replenished his resources, he made another attempt on Dhamoni. The fort of Dhamoni was again invested. The imperial garrison held out gallantly for some time but ultimately the Bundelas succeeded in capturing the fort. Monetary gains were insignificant but large stores of weapons and ammunition fell into the hands of the Bundelas.[162]

But Chhatrasal could not retain his hold on Dhamoni for long as in the early months of 1696 A.D. the Emperor ordered Saif Shikan Khan to proceed to Dhamoni as its *Faujdar*.[163]

Chhatrasal continued his activities with undiminished vigour. In March 1699, Sher Afghan Khan, the *Faujdar* of Ranod[164], proceeded against him and advanced towards Suraj Mau[165], the abode of Chhatrasal. In the battle that followed, the Bundelas suffered a reverse and Chhatrasal took shelter within the fort. Emboldened by his success, Sher Afgan laid siege to the fort of Mau. The siege continued for sometime. But Chhatrasal

158 The descendents of Mandhata Chaube continued long in possession of the fort and till recently held jagirs in the neighbourhood of Kalinjar. (Gore, p. 193).
159 Akh., 9 August 1688 ; Aur., p. 396, footnote.
160 Dhamoni—24 miles north of Saugor.
161 Mahewa—6 miles south of Nowgong.
162 Letter (P.R.) 72.
Here it is to be noted that Dhamoni and its fort remained ever a bone of contention between the Mughal faujdars and the Bundelas. No definite reference to the conquest of Dhamoni by the Bundelas is to be found in the contemporary Mughal records, while the allusions to the faujdars of Dhamoni occur so frequently that it may be safetly assumed that for the greater part of the period between 1670 and 1707, it remained in the hands of the imperialists and if ever Chhatrasal captured it, he could not possibly hold it for long.
163 M.A., p. 230.
164 Ranod—70 miles north of Sironj.
165 Mau—4 miles south of Nowgong.

escaped from the fort. Sher Afgan lost 700 men in this siege and his exhausted resources were insufficient to maintain an army of six thousand horse and eight thousand foot. So he was forced to abandon the siege after ravaging the town.[166]

In recognition of his services. Sher Afgan received a sword and a dress of honour. He was asked to share equally the conquered territories with Khairandesh Khan, the *Faujdar* of Etawa (34 miles west of Dhamoni).[167] His nephew, Muhammad Quli, who took part in the expedition was promoted from *2 sadi* to *250*.[168]

Shortly after these events, one Chhatra Mukut Bundela deserted the ranks of Chhatrasal and went over to the Mughals.[169] In the meanwhile, Sher Afgan had also recovered the *pargana* of Gagron (Malwa) from the possession of Garibdas, a son of Chhatrasal, who held it for twenty years. Sher Afgan was highly rewarded for his services and was appointed the *Faujdar* of Ranod, etc. He received a cash reward as well and the *pargana* of Gagron was also conferred on him.[170]

The following year on 24 April 1700, Sher Afgan led an attack on Chhatrasal near Jhuna and Barna (Panna). In the encounter, 700 Bundelas were slain and the Khan also lost some of his trusted officers. The Bundelas lost heart and Chhatrasal himself fled wounded. But this encounter resulted in an indirect victory to Chhatrasal. Sher Afgan received a musket shot and was carried off by Chhatrasal. The latter, however, chivalrously wrote to his son Jafar Ali "Your father having fallen down wounded, I have brought him away. He has little life left. Send your men and take him away." But when the escort arrived, Sher Afgan had already died.[171]

Soon afterward Devi Singh Dhandhera captured the fort of

[166] Akh., 20, 21, 25 April 1699; Aur., V., p. 398.

[167] Khairandesh Khan did not come to the assistance of Sher Afgan and, therefore, his rank was decreased by 200 zat and 300 sawar (Akh., 25 April 1699). But strangely enough, he was granted a share in the conquered territories.

[168] Akh., 25 April 1699.

[169] Akh., 28 June 1699. Chhatra Mukut Bundela also received a rank of 7 sadi and 300 horse.

[170] Akh., 26 July 1699.

[171] Akh., 12 and 21 May 1700.

Shahabad[172] which was till then held by Ali Quli, another son of Sher Afgan. The latter had evacuated it and proceeded to Kalabagh.[173] However, the fort of Shahabad was again captured in October 1700 by Jan-nisar Khan, the *Faujdar* of Gwalior.[174]

After the death of Sher Afgan the task of subduing the 'sons of Champat' was entrusted to Khairandesh Khan, the *Faujdar* of Itawah. In April 1701 he made an abortive attempt to capture the fort of Kalinjar which then sheltered the family of Chhatrasal.[175] Shortly afterwards, he was appointed the *Faujdar* of Dhamoni.[176]

Chhatrasal also invited Nima Sindhia to undertake an invasion of Malwa (October 1703). But Firuz Jung defeated the Marathas near Sironj, and, therefore, the intentions of Chhatrasal to plunder Malwa in alliance with the Marathas could not materialise. Firuz Jung also intended to lead an expedition against Chhatrasal himself, but partly due to the heavy losses in skirmishes with the Marathas in the jungles of Dhamoni and partly due to the near approach of rainy season, it was abandoned.[177]

Towards the close of the reign of Aurangzib (November-December 1706) Chhatrasal solicited the favour of Firuz Jung to intercede on his behalf and expressed his willingness to join the imperial service. Firuz Jung requested the Emperor to confer the title of *Raja*, in addition to a *mansab* of 5000 on Chhatrasal and to grant other suitable *mansabs* to his sons.[178] The Emperor, acceding to the recommendations made by Firuz Jung, granted a mansab of 4 *hazar* to Chhatrasal.[179] His sons Hirde Sah and Padam Singh also received the mansabs of 1500, *zat*, 1000 *sawar*, and one thousand five *sadi zat*, 500 *sawar* respectively.[180] Chhatrasal paid a visit to Emperor in the

[172] Shahabad—90 miles north of Sironj.

[173] Kalabagh—52 miles north of Sironj (Akh. 11 June 1700).

[174] Akh., 23 October 1700.

[175] Akh., 4 April 1701.

[176] He was appointed in April-June 1701. M.A., p. 265.

[177] Bhimsen 243, 245, Aur., V. pp. 383-85; *Malwa in Transition*, pp. 64-5.

[178] Akh., 1 January 1707 (Vol. 40-50, p. 187).

[179] Bhimsen p. 255.

[180] Akh., 1 January 1707 (torn part given in vol. 50-51, pp. 133-4. (S.M.) In absence of any more precise and authentic information Sir J.N.

Deccan where he stayed till his death, after which he returned to his country to fish in troubled waters.[181]

Sarkar (Aur. V, p. 399) placed this reconciliation of Chhatrasal with the Emperor somewhere in 1705. But now in the light of information given by Akh. (1 January 1707) quoted above, the approximate date and the year of the grant of Mansab and title to Chhattrasal (which is January 1707) is put on surer ground.

[181] M.U. II, p. 512; Ch. S. to Jag. 20 June 1730.
Chhatrasal also makes reference to his service in the Deccan during the reign of Emperor Aurangzib where he proceeded on the intercession of a Mughal General and received a mansab of 5000. He, however, according to his own statement, does not remember the year in which he served, but on the basis of hearsay puts it about 1683 (Sam. 1740) which is obviously wrong. (P.R. 55) This letter, too, like many others, bears the stamp of the failing memory of Ch. S. and his love for self-glorification.

CHAPTER IV

CHHATRASAL'S RELATIONS WITH THE LATER MUGHALS, 1707-1720

I

CHHATRASAL SUBMITS TO EMPEROR BAHADUR SHAH, 1707-1712

In the fratricidal war that followed the death of Aurangzib, (20 February 1707) Chhatrasal, shrewdly enough, seems to have taken no sides. However, as his own territories were not very far from the province of Malwa, which was then under Prince Azam, Chhatrasal thought it wise to address a submissive letter to Azam, who had crowned himself at Ahmadnagar, immediately after the death of Aurangzib. Azam accepted his submission and conferred on him the mansab 5,000 zat and 5,000 sawar and pargana Panwari, with other neighbouring territories. He also asked Chhatrasal to proceed to Malwa, immediately, with all the available forces.[1] Chhatrasal also received a similar order from Azam's rival, Bahadur Shah, asking him to depute his son to the assistance. of Prince Izzuddin (Muizzuddin).[2] Chhatrasal, however, seems to have paid no heed to the orders of any of the claimants to the throne.

But when the battle of Jajau (8 June 1707) decided the issue in favour of Bahadur Shah, Chhatrsal prudently tendered his submission to the new Emperor. He secured a pardon through the good offices of Munim Khan Khan-Khanan[3] and the Emperor confirmed his mansab and jagirs, which he had

1 P.R. 102 (Farman of Azam, 14 April 1707).
2 P.R. 103 (Farman of Bahadur Shah, 5 June 1707).
3 Munim Khan Khan-Khanan, the wazir of Bahadur Shah (M.U. III, pp. 667-77).

received towards the closing years of the reign of Aurangzib.[4] He also received summons to proceed to the court, which he however seems to have ignored.[5]

On 20 May 1708, when the Emperor Bahadur Shah was marching towards the Deccan against Kambakhsh, Hirde Sah and other sons of Chhatrasal waited on the Emperpr and were given suitable *mansabs*.[6] Jagat Singh, another son of Chhatrasal, paid visit to the Emperor on 25 June 1708.[7] On 2 July 1708 the mansab of 5,000 *zat*, and 4,000 *sawar*, together with the title of *Rajah* was conferred on Chhatrasal, and his sons and relations also received mansabs.[8] Chhatrasal's eldest son was deputed to conduct him to the Royal presence.[9] But it was not till March 1710, that Chhatrasal was induced to present himself to the Emperor on his return march to Northern India from the Deccan. On 19 March 1710, Padam Singh, the son of Chhatrasal, submitted to the Emperor that his father had arrived near the royal encampment. The Emperor conferred a *Kalagi* (an ornament on the turban) on Padam Singh and asked him to conduct Chhatrasal to the imperial tents.[10] On 29 March 1710, when the Emperor was encamped on the banks of the river Sindh (Kali-Sindh in Malwa), it was reported that Chhatrasal had arrived in the immediate neighbourhood of the encampments. Bakhshi-mulk Mahabat Khan was ordered to receive Chhatrasal and conduct him to the Emperor. Chhatrasal presented 100 *Asharfis*, one thousand rupees, five muskets and a sword to the Emperor, and received an elephant, sword and dress of honour as the marks of the royal favour.[11] A few days later on 2 April 1710, Chhatrasal again received a jewelled *Jamdhar* (a kind of dagger) and his six sons and relations were also the recepients of swords and dresses of honour.[12]

[4] (Farman, 18 October 1707, P.R. 104); Ch. P., p. 161.
[5] Ibid.
[6] L.M. II, p. 229.
[7] Jaipur records Bahadur Shah year 2 (Sita Mau) 25 June 1708.
[8] P.R. 105 (Farman of Bahadur Shah, 2 July 1708).
[9] P.R. 105 (Farman of Bahadur Shah, 2 July 1708).
[10] Akhbarat, 19 March 1710.
[11] Akh., 29 March 1710. (Aur., reign, years 3-22, p. 149).
[12] Akh., 2 April 1710. Aur., reign years 3-22 (p. 152) which includes Akh., for Bahadur Shah's reign years 3-4 also.

Then on the 12 April 1710, Chhatrasal had again audience with the Emperor at Karatia in the Kota country and presented 19 *Asharfis* and a musket.[13] He stayed on in the royal camps and made another present of two *Tasbis* (strings of beads) of the valuable stones (*Sang Sulemani*) on the 23 April 1710. He then accompanied the Emperor on his march and received a pair of ear-rings by way of reward on 14 May 1710.[14]

Soon after on 20 May 1710, when the Emperor was near Ajmer, he received the news of the lawless activities of Sikhs in Sarhind and Thanesar.[15] The imperial army moved in that direction and Chhatrasal also joined it. He participated in the assault on the fortress of Lohagarh, and on 30 November 1710, led the vanguard of the force of Munim Khan with Islam Khan.[16] After the successful conclusion of siege of Lohagarh, which lasted about a week, Chhatrasal was awarded a *Kalangi* (an ornament on the turban) in recognition of his services.[17]

After the capture of Lohagarh Chhatrasal returned to his country. His benefactor the Wazir Munim Khan died on 19 February 1711. The Emperor communicated the news of his death to Chhatrasal and assured him of royal favours.[18] In April 1711 he was asked to assist in the vicinity of Malwa.[19] Chhatrasal seems to have also remained loyal to the Emperor in the closing months of his reign.

[13] Kamwar, Vol. II, p. 345.
[14] Akh., 23 April and 14 May 1710.
[15] L.M. I, pp. 104-5.
[16] Kamwar Vol. II, p. 356-7; L.M. I, p. 113-5; M.U. II, p. 512.
[17] Kamwar Vol. II, p. 358. The fact that Chhatrasal took part in the siege of Lohagarh is also supported by two letters of Chhatrasal to Jagatraj (P.R. 41 and 56) and Ch.P., (p. 162). But the account given in the letters and Ch.P. is greatly exaggerated and therefore hardly reliable. To, Chhatrasal, is assigned all the credit of the capture of Lohagarh and his reckless bravery has received hyperbolic praise.
[18] P.R. 106 (Farman, 26 March 1711).
[19] Akh., 8 April 1711.

II

Service under Farrukhsiyar

After the death of Bahadur Shah (17 February 1712) his eldest son Muizzuddin succeeded to the throne under the name Jahandar Shah. Chhatrasal most probably remained indifferent to the affairs of Delhi. He received an imperial order to join Prince Muizzuddin, who was then marching towards Allahabad to oppose Farrukhsiyar.[20] Robes of honour and horses were conferred on Chhatrasal in order to induce him to join the imperial forces against Farrukhsiyar.[21] But Chhatrasal probably remained neutral in the contest between the two rivals.

After the defeat of Jahandar Shah at the battle of Agra (31 December 1712) and the accession of Farrukhsiyar, Chhatrasal tendered his submission to the new Emperor, who conferred on him a special dress of honour, a jewelled sword and an elephant. The Emperor also ordered Chhatrasal (June 1713) to proceed immediately to Malwa, where the rebels (Marathas) were becoming more active, due to its unsettled conditions.[22]

About the middle of December 1713, when *Sawai* Jai Singh was on his way to Malwa, mace-bearers were sent to conduct Chhatrasal to the *Rajah*.[23] On 10 February 1714, Chhatrasal was raised to the dignity of 6,000 *zat* and 4,000 *sawar horses*.[24] Towards the close of January 1714, Chhatrasal had received orders to join Husain Ali Khan, who was then proceeding via

[20] Akh., 18 October 1712. In a letter to Jai Singh dated 27 August 1712 (Misc. vol. 2. 1712-1714 pp. 85-6), Chhatrasal makes reference to an order of the Emperor asking him to send his son to the assistance of Prince Azzauddin, and his own intentions to send one of his sons to join the Prince. But this order of 18 October 1712, however, indicates the vacillating attitude of Chhatrasal, who probably thought it safer, to wait and see.

[21] Akh., 27 November 1712.

[22] P.R. 107 (Farman of Farrukhsiyar, 12 June 1713).

[23] Akh., 11 December 1713. M. in Malwa, p. 64.

[24] Kamwar II, p. 403. The date in L.M. II, p. 230 as 21 January 1714 is obviously a misprint for 21st February 1714 which will be the new style for 6 safar, and 2 jalusi.

Ajmer against Ajit Singh Rathor.[25] Whether Chhatrasal took part in this campaign or not is not definitely known, but anyhow towards close of April 1714, when the peace had already been concluded with Ajit Singh, we find Chhatrasal actively cooperating with Jai Singh against the Marathas and the Afghan rebels in Malwa. They effectively checked the Maratha incursions into the territories of Malwa and one feels amused at the concern exhibited by Chhatrasal for the maintenance of imperial authority, when he writes to Jai Singh sometime in early May 1714 "The Marathas wanted to encamp on this side of the Narmada, but now, they have encamped on the other side, on account of our presence. They may have designs after the rains. When we three (viz. Chhatrasal, Jai Singh, Ajit Singh) with our armies shall block their way, they will not dare to cross the river. They will be beaten by the good luck of Emperor, I am watchful and you should also be equally alert as the Marathas are cunning and faudulent."[26]

Though the Maratha raids into Malwa were stemmed for a time, there was-plenty of trouble and disaffection within the province (Malwa) to engross Sawai Jai Singh's attention. The Afghans and other rebellious elements encouraged by the disturbed state of Malwa had become very active. In May 1714 Dhan Singh, the Zamindar of Mahroli[27], in collusion with the Afghans raised disturbances in the neighbourhood of his jagirs. Udait Singh, the Rajah of Orchha, proceeded against him, and inflicted a defeat on the forces of Dhan Singh and the Afghans. But the undaunted rebels persisted in their lawless activities. At the request of Udait Singh who found himself unable to deal with the rebels without reinforcements, Chhatrasal was deputed, by the Emperor, to punish them. Chhatrasal killed Dhan Singh in an encounter and probably a few days afterwards captured his stronghold of Mahroli.[28]

In the early months of 1715, Dilair Afghan became very

[25] P.R. 108 (Farman 25 January 1714)
For this campaign vide L.M. I, pp. 285-90.

[26] A letter from Chhatrasal to Jai Singh written in early May 1714. (M. in Malwa, p. 64).

[27] There is one Maholi 11 miles west of Chanderi and 48 miles north east of Sironj.

[28] Akh., 6 May and 5 June 1714.

active in south western Malwa. He established contact with the Marathas. The combined forces assembled at Hoshangabad and having crossed the Narbada at Handia fort, ravaged the neighbouring territories of Malwa.[29]

About the same period (i.e. towards the close of March 1715) the Afghans became also active around the region of Dhamoni, which was held by Chhatrasal. Lutfullah Khan (who was recently appointed the *Naib Faujdar* of Dhamoni) incensed at the refusal of Chhatrasal to hand over the charge, also joined the Afghans with 6,000 horse.[30]

Jai Singh himself now proceeded from Ujjain to Sarangpur towards the last week of February and skirting the territories of Dhamoni, he reached Sironj on the 30th March 1715. Chhatrasal Bundela and Budh Singh Hada also joined the *Maharaja*, with their forces. Barqandaz Khan and Azam Quli Khan, the *Faujdar* of Sironj had already joined him.[31]

On the 10th April, the imperial army arrived at a distance of 4 miles from the Afghan rebels led by Dilair Khan. The Afghans numbered about 12000 (horse) and were divided into three divisions. In the encounter that followed, the rebels suffered a crushing defeat and lost about 2000 horse. About 500 received severe wounds on the side of the Mughals and many others including Man Singh the son of Chhatrasal fell dead.[32] The fleeing enemy was pursued for about eight miles.[33]

[29] Akh., 5 February, 8 March, Letterts, 8 February, 31 March 1715. M. in Malwa, p. 64.

[30] Akh. 20 March and 5 April 1715.
Chhatrasal was given Dhamoni on 2nd September 1714 and he received another sanad confirming the same on the 17th February 1715. Chhatrasal since the beginning of his career coveted the possession of Dhamoni, and therefore now when he had acquired legal rights over it, he was unwilling to transfer the ownership to Lutfullah Khan, who was acting as the deputy of the newly appointed Faujdar Mujaffar Ali Khan.

[31] M. in Malwa, p. 64.

[32] Akh., 10 April, letter 15th May 1715.
P.R. 109 (Farman, 18 May 1715)
M. in Malwa, pp. 64-5.
According to the Farman Chhatrasal received a sword, robe of honour etc in recognition of his services.

[33] P.R. 109 (Farman, 18 May 1715),

The following day Jai Singh sent Azam Quli Khan in pursuit of the Afghans and he himself marched back to Alamgirpur where he plundered the houses of the Afghans. On the 28 April, 1715, another defeat was inflicted on Dilair Afghan near Mandsor by Jai Singh with the help of Chhatrasal and Budh Singh Hada.[34]

During the period when Jai Singh was engaged in the suppression of Dilair Afghan, the Marathas under Kanhoji Bhonsle and Dabhade again crossed the Narbada. They subjected the territories around Dhar, Mandu and Ujjain to heavy plunder and levied chauth from a few other places. The inhabitants of the neighbouring country poured into Ujjain to seek safety and the Marathas audaciously enough, advanced to within four miles of Ujjain. The local Zamindars were so terror stricken that they deserted their posts, and sought shelter elsewhere. A few of them secured the safety of their territories by paying the chauth.[35]

These disturbances created by the Marathas, forced Jai singh to abandon his operations against Dilair Afghan. He advanced hurriedly with an army of 10,000 horse towards Ujjain, where he arrived on the 2nd May 1715. The Marathas were so overawed by his presence, that they took to flight and in their anxiety to cross the Narbada, left much of their booty behind. Jai Singh received the news that Marathas under Kanha and Ganga intended to cross back the Narbada at Pilsud[36] ferry. He now resolved to strike a decisive blow to the fleeing enemy. By forced marches, he arrived at Pilsud on May 10, 1715, about the sun set. Jai Singh was accompanied by Chhatrasal Bundela, Budh Singh Hada and Dhiraj Singh Khichi of Bajranggarh [37] The neighbouring zamindars also joined the imperialists. The battle that followed lasted for four hours. The Marathas were hard pressed and they retreated towards the Pilsud hills. The following morning, the Mughals gave a hot pursuit to the fleeing Maratha hordes, who left their wounded and their much covered booty behind in their hurried flight. The Mughals, who never

[34] Akh., 11 and 28 April 1715.

[35] M. in Malwa, pp. 64-6.

[36] Pilsud—19 miles east of Maheshwar and 2 miles north of Narbada. (M. in Malwa, p. 66, footnote).

[37] Bajranggarh— 40 miles north west of Sironj.

expected so easy and complete a victory over the Marathas, celebrated it in a befitting manner. Chhatrasal Bundela and Budh Singh Hada together paid a complimentary visit to Jai Singh on the morning of 12th May and remained with him till noon.[38]

The operations against Dilair Afghan were suspended, when *Sawai* Jai Singh had proceeded towards Ujjain to check the Marathas. No sooner Jai Singh had turned his back, Dilair Afghan again became active. In concert with Babu Jat, he raised disturbances, around Bhilsa. Jai Singh and Chhatrasal were ordered to move in that direction and punish the rebels.[39]

Dilair Afghan had then moved towards Kalabagh [40] and was ravaging the neighbouring territories. Prithi Singh, the *Zamindar* of Banera (near Dhamoni), also joined the rebels. They together started plundering the Mughal territories. Jai Singh proceeded against them. He was joined by Hirde Sah and other Bundela princes, and their combined forces inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemy. Garh Banera, the stronghold of Prithi Singh, was captured and the rebel fled to save his life. However, Dilair and Prithi Singh, continued their depredations, which were checked by Hirde Sah.[41]

The resounding victories of Jai Singh against the Marathas and Dilair Afghan greatly enhanced his prestige at court. Chhatrasal's services in these compaigns were also acknowledged by the Emperor.[42] On 25 September 1715, Jai Singh was summoned to the court. He was also asked to bring Raja Chhatrasal and Budh Singh with him.[43]

The absence of Jai Singh from Malwa prompted the Marathas to renew their incursions into the province with added vigour. Towards the later part of his governorship of Malwa (March 1716-November 1717), Jai Singh was engaged in the campaign against the jats, and the affairs of Malwa

[38] Akh., 25 May, 6 June 1715; Waqia papers 17, 18 May 1715, Letters 14 May 1715; M. in. Malwa, pp. 66-67.
[39] Letter 15 May, Akh., 19 May 1715.
[40] Kalabagh—52 miles north of Sironj.
[41] Akh., 18 June, 13 and 14 July 1715.
[42] P.R. 110 (Farman, 10 June 1715).
[43] Letter 25 September 1715.

were looked after by his deputy, Rupram Dhaibai.[44]

Dilair Khan and Babu Jat had again become active in northern Malwa. They plundered the imperial territories and rendered the roads unsafe in that part of the province. In April 1716 Deo Narain, a son of Chhatrasal, proceeded against them. The rebels under Babu Jat were defeated and Deo Narain captured three elephants, two guns and many horses and camels of the enemy. Mukund Singh, the nephew of Chhatrasal, was killed in the action. Padam Singh, another son of Chhatrasal, besieged the village Sikri and extorted rupees two thousand.[45] Chhatrasal received a robe of honour for this victory over Babu Jat.[46]

The Maratha raids into Malwa were becoming now more frequent. Chhatrasal, who intended to proceed to the court (sometime in September 1716) was ordered to postpone his visit and send his son instead, while he himself was directed to march to Malwa to provide assistance to the deputy of Jai Singh. By another letter Jai Singh was apprised of the situation in Malwa. He was asked to instruct his deputy to remain watchful and exert himself to the utmost against the Marathas. Rana Sangram Singh of Udaipur and the faujdars of neighbourhood were also ordered to assist the deputy of Jai Singh. But they failed to check the recurring Maratha invasions effectively. Even Rupram Dhaibai, the deputy of Jai Singh and Himmat Singh, another senior officer, were defeated and taken prisoners, by the Marathas (April 1717), and though they secured their release soon afterwards, they were unable to accomplish anything against the Marathas. Jai Singh was then pre-occupied with the operations against the Jats. Therefore Amin Khan was appointed the Governor of Malwa, with express orders to restore peace in that province.[47] Amin Khan immediately proceeded to his charge, where he exerted himself

[44] M. in Malwa, pp. 68-9; L.M. I, pp. 324-27.
[45] This account is based on the report of the runner dated 13 April 1716. According to this report Babu Jat with his son was also killed in this encounter, which however is wrong, as Babu Jat was alive till March 1717 when he was killed by one Ranchhor. (Akh., 14 March 1717).
[46] Akh., 23 June 1716.
[47] M. P.R. 111 (Farman, 12 September 1716); Letter 6 October 1716; M. in Malwa, pp. 69-71.

most assiduously. The Marathas under Santa[48] were defeated (March 1718) and peace was restored for the time being in the province. In the period which had elapsed between March 1717 and January 1718, Chhatrasal was actively assisting the imperialists in quelling the disturbances in the province of Malwa, raised by Dilair Afghan, Jagrup and Gaj Singh.[49]

The relations between Farrukhsiyar and the Sayyid brothers were worsening shortly after his accession The Emperor manoeuvred secretly to extricate himself from the domination of the Sayyids but he failed and was deposed (18 February 1719).

After the short reigns of the faineant Emperors Rafi-ud-Darjat and Rafi-ud-daulah, which extended over months only, Muhammad Shah was proclaimed the Emperor on the 18 September 1719.

III

Accession of Muhammad Shah Bodes Ill

The deposition of Farrukhsiyar and the accession of Muhammad Shah (18 September 1719) was viewed with serious displeasure by Sawai Jai Singh and his partisans, like Chhabile Ram,[50] Governor of Allahabad and Budh Singh Hada of Bundi.[51] Chhatrasal, who had come into closer contacts with Jai Singh and Budh Singh during the Maharaja's Governorship of Malwa, was favourably impressed by both of them and spe-

[48] Most probably Santaji Bhonsle who was later killed on the 28 February 1720 at Delhi.
N.H.M. Vol. II, p. 46; L.M. I, p. 359.

[49] Akh., 6 March, 25 September 1717, 13 January 1718; M. in Malwa, p. 72.

[50] Jai Singh and Chhabile Ram were 'notorious partisans' of Farrukhsiyar. The latter (Chhabile Ram) owed his rise entirely to the deposed Emperor. (L.M. I, p. 408; L.M. II, pp. 5-6).

[51] Budh Singh Hada had also thrown his lot with Farrukhsiyar and Jai Singh. Moreover the Sayyid brothers sought to restore his rival Bhim Singh to the Gaddi of Bundi as a reward for his support to them (L.M. II, pp. 5-6.)

cially by the abilities of Jai Singh.[52] Then, Chhatrasal himself had been favoured more than once by Emperor Farrukhsiyar and barring a few and unimportant disturbances raised by his sons, the relations between him and Farrukhsiyar had remained excellent.[53] These factors made the chances of any lasting peace between the new Emperor Muhammad Shah and the Bundela chief very remote.

In the early months of Muhammad Shah's reign, Budh Singh Hada of Bundi and Chhabile Ram, the Governor of Allahabad, who were opposed to the designs of Sayyids, had been declared rebels and the imperial forces were sent against them (November 1719). Budh Singh Hada instigated Chhatrasal to obstruct the march of the imperial forces moving towards Allahabdd and create disturbance on the borders of Malwa.[54] Jaichand, a son of Chhatrasal, captured the fort of Ramgarh.[55] His another commander (probably son) Bhagwant Singh attempted to impede the progress of the Mughal forces under Dilair Khan and Abdun-nabi, who were marching towards Allahabad. His attempt proved abortive and he himself was slain in an encounter.[56]

These stray subversive activities, were more or less in the nature of underhand dealings, because Chhatrasal never dec-

[52] The following letters written by Chhatrasal to Jai Singh support this statement. Ch. S. to Jai Singh dated 27 August 1712 (Misc Vol. 2—1712-1714) pp. 85-86. Letters 10, 15, 31 May 1721. 12 July 1724, 22 April 1725 and a letter of 1727.
J.H.R. vol. II, part III, 31, 42-44, Vol. III, part V, p. 13, vol. V part VIII, p. 23, 42).

[53] Chhatrasal received the mansab 6000 zat (4000 sawar) on the 10 February 1714 (Kamwar vol. II, p. 403). His sons etc received presents on the 23 April 1718 (Kamwar II, p. 427) Chhatrasal also received the Faujdari of Dhamoni on 2 September 1714 which was confirmed by another deed dated 17 February 1715.
(Akh., 5 April 1715).
For the disturbances raised by his sons see Akh., 22 May, 22 June 1715 and 18 September 1718.

[54] L.M. II, pp. 5-11; *Malwa in Transition*, p. 134.

[55] Ramgarh—60 miles north of Sironj.

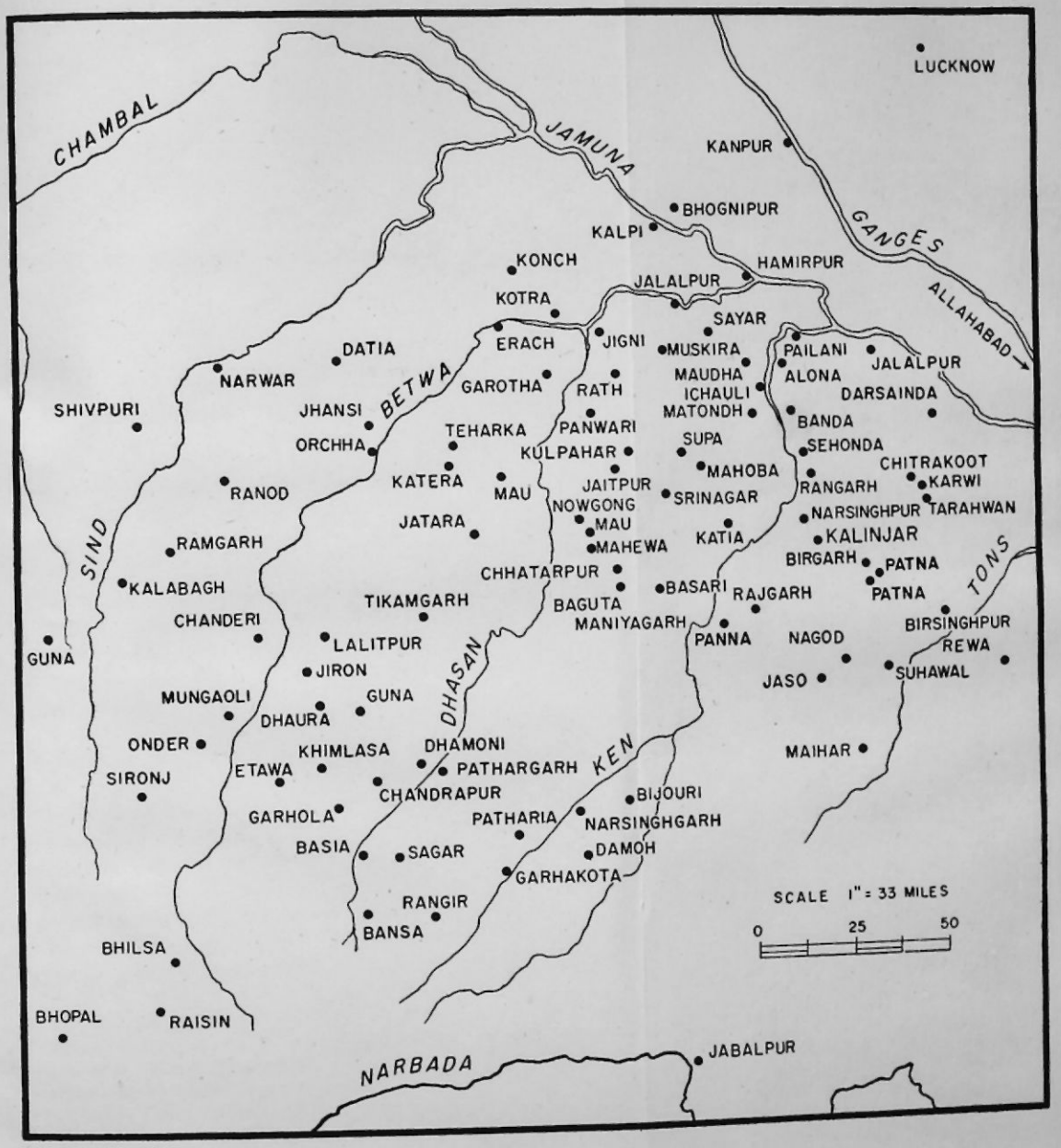
[56] L.M. II, pp. 10-11, 18; *Malwa in Transition*, p. 134. According to Gorelal Chhatrasal had two sons named Raichand and Bhagwant Rai. These names bear a close resemblance to Jai Chand and Bhagwant Singh. (Gorelal, p. 231, footnote.)

lared himself openly against the Emperor Muhammad Shah till then. He even sent his son Padam Singh to assist the Mughals against the Marathas in the Deccan in November 1719. Padam Singh remained in the imperial service till March 1720 and earned the praise of the Emperor himself.

Chhatrasal offered his submission to the Emperor through a communication felicitating him on his accession and received in return a dress of honour a jewelled *Jamdhar* (a kind of dagger) and an elephant as the tokens of royal favour (April 1720). However, this submission did not last long as the subsequent relations of Chhatrasal with the Delhi court were anything but friendly.[57]

[57] P.R. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 112 (Farman, 19 April 1720). Chhatrasal in one of his letters to his son Jagatraj (P.R. 83) also makes a reference to his visit to Muhammad Shah and the award of a dress of honour.

THE EARLY STRUGGLE OF CHHATRASAL



CHAPTER V

BANGASH-BUNDELA WARS, 1720-1729

I

Bangash Tribe and Early Career of Muhammad Khan Bangash

Muhammad Khan belonged to the Karlani Kaghzai clan of the Pathans, which had its original settlement in the region round about Kohat. This tract of land was also known as Bangash, which means a hilly country. The bordering region of the upper hills was called the Bala Bangash, and the low lying country at the foot of these hills was given the name of Pain Bangash. The Pathans who peopled this land, thus derived the appellation of Bangash from the name of their original home.[1]

Many families of these Bangash Pathans had gradually migrated to the upper Doab in search of employment and had settled in Mau Rashidabad[2] and its neighbouring region.

Malik Ain Khan, the father of Muhammad Khan Bangash, had migrated to Mau Rashidabad sometime in the region of Aurangzib. He left behind two sons, viz. Himmat Khan and Muhammad Khan. The former joined the imperial service in the Deccan, where he died, and the latter at the age of 21 (about 1685) enrolled himself in the levies of Yasin Khan Bangash, the most powerful and enterprising predatory leader among the

1 J.A.S.B. 1878, pp. 268-69.

2 Mau Rashidabad is 21 miles west of Farrukhabad. Originally its name was Mau Thoriya. It was renovated in the reign of Emperor Jahangir about 1607 by Nawab Rashid Khan, Jagirdar of Shamsabad. Ibid., p. 270.

Pathans of Mau.[3]

Every year, after the rains (about October) Yasin Khan moved out of Mau with four or five thousand Pathans and crossed the Jamuna in search of employment. He would lend his assistance to anyone, who could pay for it. Yasin Khan and his forces were mostly employed by the Rajahs of Bundelkhand, either to suppress their rebellious vassals or to assist against some powerful rival in the neighbourhood. The money that was received for this assistance was proportionately divided among the followers of Yasin Khan. The predatory activities continued for about eight months till June, when on the approach of the rainy season the Pathans returned to Mau.[4]

Muhammad Khan Bangash, thus had his first experience in predatory warfare under Yasin Khan. The latter was killed, while once besieging Orchha, and his maternal uncle Shadi Khan was elected leader. But Muhammad Khan could not see eye to eye with the new commander and organised a separate gang. His dashing courage and bold undertaking soon attracted new followers and even the adherents of Shadi Khan were tempted to join him. Muhammad Khan now started his independent career of a predatory leader, which lasted many years, till the rise of Farrukhsiyar.[5]

On the accession of Jahandar Shah, Farrukhsiyar advanced from Raj Mahal to contest the Crown of Delhi and was joined by the famous Sayyid brothers. Prince Azzuddin, who was sent to check the progress of Farrukhsiyar, suffered defeat at Khajwa and took to flight (November 1712). It was about this time that Muhammad Khan received letters from the Sayyid brothers asking him to join the cause of Farrukhsiyar. After having ascertained the chances of success of the latter, he joined his standards at Khajwa with 12,000 men.[6]

After the battle of Samugarh (1 January 1713) when Farrukhsiyar encamped at Barahpul (30 January 1713) near Delhi, his supporters were favoured with new honours and fresh assignments. Muhammad Khan Bangash was also not

[3] J.A.S.B. 1878, pp. 269-70.
[4] Ibid., pp. 270-71.
[5] Ibid., pp. 271-72.
[6] Ibid., p. 273.

forgotten. He was made the commander of four thousand and title of Nawab was conferred on him.[7] He also received some *jagirs* in the Bundelkhand for the maintenance of his troops. Muhammad Khan appointed deputies to manage the affairs of his new jagirs.[8] These assignments to Bangash in Bundelkhand were probably made with due consideration to his first hand knowledge of the region, which he had acquired during his predatory career, first under Yasin Khan and later as an independent leader. The Sayyid brothers, thus by following the policy to extract one thorn with another, sought to put a check on Chhatrasal by planting the authority of Muhammad Khan Bangash in his immediate neighbourhood. They also perhaps desired to keep the Bangash at a safe distance from their home territories of upper Doab, which were half way between Meerut and Saharanpur.[9]

During the reign of Emperor Farrukhsiyar, Muhammad Khan was mostly occupied, with the founding of Farrukhabad and rendered no other notable service, except his unimportant expeditions against the Raja of Anupshahar and Raja Meda, who had become seditious.[10]

When Muhammad Shah ascended on the throne of Delhi (18 September 1719), Muhammad Khan Bangash rose still higher in imperial favour. He received a *mansab* of 6,000 in the beginning of the reign, which was later on increased to 7,000 (9 November 1720) due to his joining the standards of the Emperor against Sayyid Abdullah.[11] He also received the title of Ghazanfar Jang (the lion of war) and the parganas of Shamsabad[12] and Bhojpur, in the modern district of Farrukhabad. Soon after, he was made the *Subehdar* of

[7] Ibid., p. 274.
[8] Ibid. The parganas granted to Muhammad Khan Bangash were the following: 1. Irich, 2. Bhander, 3. Kalpi, 4. Konch, 5. Seondah, 6. Maudaha, 7. Sipri, 8. Jalaun, roughly the southern portion of the Jamuna Doab and the adjacent parts southeast of the river Chambal.
[9] L.M. I, pp. 201-2.
[10] J.A.S.B. 1878, pp. 270-80.
[11] Ibid., pp. 281-82. After the assassination of Sayyid Husain Ali Khan (30 September 1720), Muhammad Khan Bangash had openly joined the Emperor and had fought for the latter in the battle with Abdullah Khan Sayyid at Hasanpur.
[12] Shamsabad is about 9 miles northwest of Farrukhabad.

Allahabad (December 1720) and received assignments on Kalpi and Irich.[13] Prior to his deputation to Bundelkhand against Chhatrasal, Bangash also served in the campaign against Churaman Jat (October 1722-September 1723) and Ajit Singh Rathor of Marwar (January-December 1723).[14]

II

Early stages of Bangash-Bundela Wars, 1720-1724

The great part of the eastern Bundelkhand, which also included the territories where Chhatrasal exercised de facto sovereignty, now became an annexe of the *subah* of Allahabad. The *parganas* which Muhammad Khan had received in the reign of Farrukhsiyar, in this part of the country, were also under the effective control of Chhatrasal. Muhammad Khan Bangash, the new *Subehdar* of Allahabad, was a man of resolution and courage. He could not brook for long the lawless sway of Chhatrasal over the territories which were assigned to him. Another important factor, which forced this quarrel between Bangash and Chhatrasal, rather earlier, was the encouragement, which the latter received from the nobles at court in general and *Sawai* Jai Singh in particular, who viewed with jealousy and serious alarm the meteoric rise of the Bangash Nawab. Therefore, the struggle between Muhammad Khan and Chhatrasal was an affair of more than local importance.

In 1720, the Bundelas plundered Kalpi and killed Pir Ali Khan, the *Amil* of the place and his son.[15] Diler Khan, the *chela* of Bangash, led an expedition against the Bundelas and forced them to evacuate the *parganas* of Kalpi and Jalalpur.[16] But soon afterwards the Bundelas mustered strong under Chhatrasal himself and advanced over thirty thousand in number stiffened with heavy artillery.[17] Muhammad Khan Bangash, who was well informed about the intrigues of his enemies at court, sent instructions to Diler Khan to avoid fight and restore the territories to the Bundelas.[18] But the headstrong Diler Khan, led away by his high sense of prestige, paid little attention to the wise counsel of his patron. He only tried to avoid any engagement with the Bundelas for the time being. He left Sohrapur,[19] where he was then encamped and marched to Alona.[20] Chhatrasal with his army arrived at Sohrapur on 8 May 1721. Here the progress of the Bundelas was checked due to the incessant rains. Chhatrasal however kept up the pursuit and following the course of the river Ken reached Alona. In the meanwhile Diler Khan had escaped to Maudaha.[21] Chhatrasal, determined to force an engagement on him, lost no time and started moving towards Maudaha on the 15 May. Diler Khan, now, tired of this game of hide and seek and convinced of the inevitability of a show down with the Bundelas, decided to strike first. He did not even wait for the arrival of Qaim Khan (eldest son of the Bangash Nawab), who after the capture of Tarahwan[22] was hurrying to his assistance

13 Ibid., pp. 283-84. Muhammad Khan appointed the following deputies for different parts in the subah of Allahbad :
Bhure Khan for Allahabad, Diler Khan for Irich, Kalpi and Bhander; and Kamal Khan for Sipri and Jaloun,

14 Ibid., p. 283.

15 J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 284; L.M. II, p. 230.

16 Jalalpur is 18 miles south of Kalpi.

17 J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 285; L.M. II, p. 231.

18 J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 285.
Nawab Aminuddin Itimad-ud-daula, who was considered to be the patron of Muhammad Khan Bangash, died in January 1721. Now the hostile elements at the court became more active and they encouraged the Bundelas and the local Zamindars to resist the authority of Bangash. Sawai Jai Singh was the chief among them. He excercised great influence over the chiefs of the Bundelkhand and instigated them to combine with Chhatrasal against the Pathans. The following letters sent by prominent chiefs of Bundelkhand confirm the above statement.
Hirde Sah s/o Chhatrasal to Jai Singh, 31 May 1721.
Udait Singh of Orchha to Jai Singh, 1 June 1721.
Rao Ram Chand of Datta to Jai Singh, 27 May 1721.
Chhatrasal to Jai Singh, 10 May 1721.
Chhatrasal to Jai Singh, 15 May 1721.
Chhatrasal to Jai Singh, 12 July 1724.
Chhatrasal to Jai Singh, 22 April 1725.
J.H.R. Vol. II, Part III, p. 31, 42-44; J.H.R., vol. III, Part V, p. 13; J.H.R., vol. V, Part VIII, p. 23-4 and 42.

19 Sohrapur in *pargana* Pailani, District Hamirpur.

20 Alona is 10 miles south of Pailani.

21 Maudaha is 13 miles west of Alona, in District Banda.

22 Tarahwan is about 42 miles southeast of Banda.

with an army of about 10,000.[23]

On 15 May 1721[24], Diler Khan marched forward with his four thousand men and personally led an attack on the vanguard of the Bundelas, with five hundred of his chosen warriors. Jagat Raj, the son of Chhatrasal, was leading the vanguard. He was caught unawares. But Diler Khan could secure no substantial advantage over the enemy by this surprise attack, as the other Bundela forces which were moving a little behind soon arrived at the scene of action. The Pathans were outnumbered and outmanoeuvred. They performed prodigies of valour, which proved of little avail against the numerical superiority of the Bundelas. Diler Khan fell dead on the battle field and most of his followers shared his fate.[25]

Chhatrasal had also given offence to the Emperor by his active support to Girdhar Bahadur, the rebellious Governor of Allahabad, and the rebel Kichar *Zamindar* of Ashothar[26] in Doab.[27] The sack of Kalpi and the death of Diler Khan further aggravated the situation. But the operations against him had to be deferred till 1723, because during this period (1721-23) Muhammad Khan Bangash was engaged in the campaign against Raja Ajit Singh Rathor of Jodhpur, who was making rapid encroachments on the imperial territories.[28] The hostilities ceased towards the end of 1723 and Muhammad

23 J.A.S. B. 1878, p. 285.

24 According to Irvine the encounter between the Bundelas and Diler Khan took place on 13 May. (J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 285). But Chhatrasal in a letter to Mahta Dayaram, Rasikrai, etc. (dated 15 May 1721) mentions that this encounter took place on (Jeth Badi 30 Sam. 1778), 15 May 1721.

25 This whole account is based on the following :
J.H.R. Vol. V, part VIII, p. 23 (Ch. S. to Jai Singh, 10 May 1721). Ibid , Vol. III, part V, p. 13 (Ch. S. to Dayaram Mahta, Mahasingh, etc., 15 May 1721). Sheo Das, p. 67(b) S.M. ; J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 285; L.M. II, p. 31.

26 Ashothar is about 40 miles northeast of Banda.

27 L.M. II, p. 5, 10-12, 231.

28 Some sort of conciliation seems to have been affected between the Emperor and Chhatrasal during this period. Hirde Sah and Jagat Raj, the sons of Chhatrasal, proceeded to Delhi in October 1723 to participate in the marriage of a daughter of Muhammad Sah. They returned to Bundelkhand sometime in December 1723. P.R. 17. (Ch. S. to Jag., 7 October 1723). Ibid., 18 (Ch. S. to Jag., 6 January 1724).

Khan returned to Delhi with Abhay Singh, the eldest son of Ajit Singh, with overtures of peace. Taking advantage of the absence of Muhammad Khan in Rajputana and preoccupation of the Mughals in that quarter, Chhatrasal pursued his aggressive designs with unabated vigour. Muhammad Khan, now received orders to proceed to the *subah* of Allahabad for restoring peace in Bundelkhand.[29]

During the absence of Muhammad Khan Bangash, Burhan-un-mulk Saadat Khan had marched into Bundelkhand to quell the disturbances raised by Chhatrasal. But he probably could not achieve any notable success against the latter and returned to his *subah* of Oudh just before Bangash took up the task of suppressing the Bundelas.[30]

Muhammad Khan Bangash halted at Allahabad for about two months, during which he made heavy preparations for the forthcoming struggle with Chhatrasal. He assembled an army of fifteen thousand and encamped at Bhagnipur[31] (July 1724) on the banks of Jamuna, which was then in flood. On the other side of the river, the Bundelas assembled in large numbers under Hirde Sah and Jagat Raj. Muhammad Khan with his army crossed the river after the flood had receded, and by hard and constant fighting succeeded in penetrating as far as Sahendah[32] in six months.[33]

But events were fast moving in other parts of the Empire. Mubariz Khan was defeated and slain in the battle of Sakar Khera (1 October 1724) with Nizam-ul-mulk.[34] Muhammad Khan was ordered to abandon the operations against the Bundelas for the time being and to proceed to Gwalior to ward off the anticipated invasion of the Marathas.[35] Therefore

29 J.A.S.B., 1878 p. 287; L.M II, p. 231

30 J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 287.

31 Bhognipur is in Kanpur district on the Kalpi road 6 miles north of Jamuna.

32 Sahendah or Sihonda is 13 miles south of Banda.

33 J. H. R. Vol. V, part VIII, p. 42 (Ch. S. to Jai Singh, 12 July 1724) ; J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 287 ; L M. II, p. 231.

34 L.M. II, p. 143. Chhatrasal seems to have supported the cause of Nizam-ul-mulk. His son, Kunwar Chand, fought on the side of the Nizam with a Bundela contingent. Kunwar Chand was one of the sons of Chhatrasal. See also M.U. II, p. 512 ; Gore, p. 231, footnote.

35 J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 287 ; L.M. II, p. 231.

Bangash made terms with the Bundelas, according to which the latter pledged themselves not to disturb his possessions, and proceeded to Gwalior.[36]

Sometime in early April 1725 Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-mulk crossed the Jamuna and incidently entered Bundelkhand in pursuit of the Chandelas.[37] He advanced as far as Rath. Hirde Sah and Jagat Raj who were then at Dhamoni and Kanar[38] respectively, joined their forces and arrived at a distance of eight miles from the encampment of Saadat Khan in order to forestall any hostile move against Chhatrasal. But acting on the orders of their father, who did not like to incur the royal displeasure, just then, they avoided fight with Saadat Khan and only followed him at a distance till his force had recrossed the river to the other side.[39]

III

The Second Campaign

About the middle of the year 1726 Hirde Sah overran the Rewa territories and established his authority over the whole

[36] Ibid.

[37] J.H.R. Vol. II, part III, p. 42-43 (Ch. S. to Jai Singh, 22 April 1725). This expedition of Saadat Khan was most probably directed only against the Chandelas and not against the Bundelas.

[38] Kanar is in Tahsil, pargana and District Jalaun.

[39] This whole account is based on a letter of Chhatrasal to Jai Singh dated 22 April 1725 (J.H.R. Vol. II, part III, pp. 42-43). The entire letter is written in an aggrieved tone. Chhatrasal complains of undue interference of Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-mulk and makes reference to the hostile designs of Muhammad Khan Bangash and Nizam-ul-mulk (who was then holding the Governorship of Malwa).
In a previous letter to Jai Singh dated 12 July 1724 (J.H.R. Vol. V. part VIII, p. 42) also, as in the above one. Chhatrasal makes reference to the grant of the disputed territories to him by the Emperor through the good offices of Sawai Jai Singh himself. These two letters indicate the unwillingness of Chhatrasal to enter into any conflict with Muhammad Khan Bangash, if securely left to his possessions. His old age and the unsatisfactory relations between his sons, must have contributed a great deal to his peaceful intentions. But it seems that the nobles at court, who were hostile to Bangash and the subsequent conquest of Rewa territories by Hirde Sah precipitated the war between Chhatrasal and Muhammad Khan Bangash.

region of Baghelkhand.[40] Therefore towards the end of the year (1726) Muhammad Khan Bangash was once again directed to undertake the operations against the Bundelas. He was granted an allowance of rupees two lacs a month, which was later commuted into a grant of *Chakla* Kora.[41] Muhammad Khan on his arrival at Allahabad, busied himself in organising a strong army. On 24 January 1727, he ordered his third son, Akbar Khan, to lead the van and cross the Jamuna. He himself followed closely with a strong army of 15,000-16,000 horse and a similar number of infantry and crossed the river either at Allahabad or the Mau ferry, which is about 30 miles upstream from Allahabad.[42]

The Bundelas had large concentrations of their forces in Bundelkhand, which numbered about 20,000 horse and more than 100,000 foot.[43] In view of the numerical superiority of the Bundelas Muhammad Khan requested Wazir Qamruddin Khan to secure for him the assistance of those princes of Bundelkhand who were still considered to be loyal[44] and of certain other neighbouring faujdars. Imperial orders to that effect were sent ; but these proved ineffective. Only Jai Singh of Maudaha appears to have joined the Bangash army.[45]

Muhammad Khan Bangash first directed his attention towards the eastern part of Bundelkhand. The forts of Luk[46],

[40] J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 287 ; L.M. II, p. 231. This invasion of Baghelkhand was not wholly an outcome of the aggressive designs of Ch. S. but was also prompted by the family squabbles between Hirde Sah and Jagat Raj, as is evidenced by the letters of Chhatrasal. The latter did not endorse the action of Hirde Sah. (See P. R. Nos. 23-34, 36-37 written by Ch.S. to Jag. All these letters date between July 1726 and January 1727).

[41] J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 288 ; L.M. II, p. 232.

[42] J.A.S.B., 1878, p. 288, footnote.

[43] Ibid.

[44] They were Udait Singh of Orchha, Ramchand of Datia, Prithi Zamindar of Sahendah, Durjan Singh of Chanderi, Jai Singh of Maudaha, Khande Rai Narwari and Raja Gopal Bhadauria. Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Luk is 27 miles north of Rewah.

Chaukhandi[47], Garh Kakarelie[48], Kalyanpur,[49] and Ramnagar[50] etc. fell one after another to the forces of Muhammad Khan. The country round Barsinghpur (Birsinghpur)[51] and the territories of Madhogarh[52] and Banda, which extended over two hundred miles were subjugated. The Bundelas then entrenched themselves in the fort of Tarahwan.[53] Muhammad Khan left his son Qaim Khan and his brother Hadidad Khan to besiege the fort, with an army of 12,000 horse and 12,000 foot.[54] and himself marched forward till he arrived within eight miles of Sahendah.[55] The *parganas* of Bhind[56], Maudaha[57], Pailani[58], Agwasi[59], and Simauni[60] were next to fall into his hands.

During this period Qaim Khan was conducting the siege of Tarahwan, which was held by Sabha Singh, the grandson of Chhatrasal, who was aided by Harbans of Bargarh[61] and with a number of Marathas.[62] It had three mud forts and masonry citadels. Qaim Khan assisted by Chhatra Singh, the son of Jai Singh of Maudaha, Halim Khan, Muhammad Zulfiqar, Rai Harprasad and two Zamindars, Sadhu and Harbans slowly worked up his way to the last fort.[63] The Bundelas offered tough resistance and more than 2,000 were slain in the attempt to roll back the determined enemy assaults. Ultimately on 12 December 1727 the fort of Tarahwan fell and other neighbouring forts also surrendered.[64]

47 Chaukhandi or Chaukandi is 6 miles north of Luk.
48 Garh Kakreli or Kakreri is 12 miles southwest of Chaukhandi
49 Kalyanpur is about 11 miles west of Kakreri.
50 Barsinghpur (Birsinghpur) is 16 miles southwest of Kalyanpur.
51 There is one Ramnagar two miles west of Kalinjar. It is not traceable in the map. J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 288, footnote.
52 Madhogarh is 16 miles south of Birsinghpur.
53 Tarahwan is about two miles south of Karwi and about 42 miles south east of Banda.
54 J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 289.
55 Sahenda or Sihona is 13 miles south of Banda, and 36 miles west of Tarhwan.
56 Bhind or Benda is 23 miles northeast of Banda.
57 Maudaha is 20 miles northwest of Banda.
58 Pailani is 20 miles north of Banda.
59 Agwasi is 28 miles northeast of Banda.
60 Simauni is 18 miles northeast of Banda.
61 Bargarh is a station on the Northern Railway, near Manikpur.
62 J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 289.
63 Ibid.

In the meanwhile Muhammad Khan had been advancing westward from Sehonda. His progress was slow. The Bundelas avoided direct engagements, but they harassed the Mughals by their occasional attacks in small parties. These petty skirmishes continued for one month and twenty one days.[65] But at last an action was forced on the Bundelas at Ijoli[66] or Ichauli (12 May 1727) where Chhatrasal, his son and grandsons had massed their respective forces to give battle to Bangash from behind strong entrenchments. In the first engagement, the combined armies of Hirde Sah and Hindupat Chandel which numbered about twenty thousand horse and forty thousand foot were defeated.[67] Bhure Khan, Dilwar Khan and others fell in the battle and Akbar, the son of Nawab, received a slight wound by a spent ball. The second entrenchment was defended by Jagat Raj, another son of Chhatrasal, with 15,000 horse.[68] After heavy fighting the Bundelas were forced to vacate the entrenchments one after another and finally they retreated to the jungles of Salhat[69], where aided by the high hills, deep ravines and the rugged nature of the region they strongly entrenched themselves with definite intentions to fight. Chhatrasal occupied a strategic position at Suraj Mau.[70] In the encounter at Ichauli about four to five thousand soldiers were killed or wounded on the side of Muhammad Khan, and the Bundelas suffered heavier losses estimated at about twelve to thirteen thousand.[71] The army of Bangash was now reduced to fourteen or fifteen thousand horse. There was a general scarcity of water and fodder in the Mughal camp. The situation was further aggravated by the fact that Muhammad Khan practically received no assistance from any local chief.[72]

64 J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 290 ; L.M. II, p. 232.
65 Ibid.
66 Ichauli is 11 miles northwest of Banda.
67 J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 290.
68 Ibid.
69 Salhat Hill is nine miles due east of Jaitpur (L.M. II, p. 232, footnote).
70 Suraj Mau is untraceable in the map. According to Irvine it is about 6 miles south of Jaitpur. J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 295. Probably it was Mau Sahaniya which is about 18 miles southwest of Jaitpur.
71 J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 291.
72 Ibid.

On 8 June 1727 the imperial forces moved towards the new position occupied by the Bundelas. Next morning before dawn, Muhammad Khan led an attack, but before he came up with the enemy, the Bundelas dispersed and fled towards Mahoba.[73] The forts of Barigarh[74] and Lauri Jhumar[75] fell to the Mughal forces, despatched against them. Bangash, then encamped at a distance of two miles from Mahoba. His advance was delayed by about five months due to heavy rains, during which the Bundelas had entrenched themselves on the neighbouring hills and thrown earthworks upon them.[76]

In November 1727 the Bangash army resumed operations by an attack on the entrenchment of the Bundelas. Fighting went on the whole day and about sunset the Bundelas beat a retreat. Some hills and a part of the neighbouring jungle were occupied by the enemy who now took to cutting down the jungles and making a path.[77] Bangash, however, without fresh supplies of men and materials could not carry on his operations vigorously. The war had now been carried into the heart of the Bundela country and Chhatrasal threw all his available forces into this struggle for survival. The imperialists were outnumbered and Bangash was spending the whole amount of rupees two lacs a months granted to him in keeping his army together. Moreover, a part of his army under Qaim Khan had been besieging Tarahwan. Bangash repeatedly complained of the inadequate support which he was receiving from the court. But no response was forthcoming. He, therefore, moved cautiously and risked no major battle with the Bundelas during the next four months. (November 1727 to April 1728).[78]

However, in early April 1728 fighting started afresh. The Bangash army which had encamped somewhere between Salhat and Kulpahar[79] made an attack (19 April) on the Bundela entrenchments flanked by the hills of Kulpahar and protected in

[73] J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 293; L.M. II. p. 232.
[74] Barigarh is 10 miles south east of Mahoba.
[75] Lauri Jhumar or probably Lauri Lundi is about 16 miles southeast of Mahoba.
[76] J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 293.
[77] Ibid., p. 294.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Kulpahar is 14 miles west of Mahoba.

front by seven fortified outposts and two strong redoubts. On that very day the Mughal army carried outer defences. At the midnight of 19 April, Hirde Sah, Jagat Raj and Mohan Singh led three surprise attacks which however proved abortive against a vigilant foe. Mundhari[80] was captured by the Bangash army which thus threatened the rear of Chhatrasal.[81]

Muhammad Khan now encamped in front of Kulpahar Jaitpur and Mundhari lay on his right and on his left were the hills of Salhat, which were still in the possession of the Bandelas though the main army of Chhatrasal had moved away to the hills of Ajhnar.[82] Bangash now commenced the siege of Jaitpur.

Before the siege of Jaitpur commenced there had occured some severe skirmishes between the Bundelas and the Pathan army. One such engagement is described by Bangash in his report to the court[83] and reference to another is available in the letters of Chhatrasal. In this second engagement the Bundela army led by Jagat Raj, the son of Chhatrasal, was utterly routed and Jagat Raj himself fell wounded on the battlefield. When Rani Jait Kunwar, the wife of Jagat Raj, received the news of this disaster in the main camp, she promptly assembled the scattered Bundela forces and led them to the battlefield. In the encounter that followed the Mughals seem to have been forced to withdraw from the field. The Rani displayed extraordinary courage and valour, for which she was suitably rewarded by Chhatrasal. Chhatrasal conferred on her the *parganas* of Darsainda[84] and Jalalpur.[85]

[80] Mundhari or Mandhari is 3 miles east of Jaitpur.
[81] J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 294.
[82] Ajhnar is 6 miles south of Jaitpur.
[83] L.M. II, pp. 233-36.
[84] Darsainda is 22 miles southeast of Jalalpur.
[85] Jalalpur is 24 miles northeast of Banda.
This whole account is based on P.R. 21, 22 and 50 Pogson also gives a somewhat confused account of this encounter. According to him it took place at Nadeepurea (or Nadpura in Tahsil and Pargana Rath of Hamirpur Distt.) between Diler Khan and the Bundelas. The Bundelas were dispersed and Jagat Raj fell unconcious on the battlefield. Then the Rani took the field, set the Muhammadans to flight and picked up the wounded husband. Pogson, p. 107.
This encounter could not have taken place between Diler Khan and Jagat Raj, as the former was already killed in a battle near Maudaha in

When the siege of Jaitpur[85] commenced, the rains had set in and the siege could not be pushed vigorously. The mines proved ineffective due to the heavy moisture in the soil. The siege continued for more than four months and the fortress fell in December 1728. A period of more than twenty four months had elapsed since Muhammad Khan had first started on this campaign against Chhatrasal (January 1727-December 1728).[87]

During the period, when Muhammad Khan was besieging the fort of Jaitpur, Darak Singh, an ally of Chhatrasal, was creating disturbances in some parts of Panwari and had assembled a force of two thousand horse and five thousand foot in the fort of Sahendi.[88] Muhammad Basharat Multani, who commanded the garrison in Rath[89], was ordered to proceed against Darak Singh. He was found vacillating and could only be prompted to action by taking over Auli[90] from him and making it over to Raja Ram Chand of Datia. However, with the assistance of Sardar Khan, Kunwar Pancham Singh and the Bhadauria forces the pargana of Rath was completely subdued.[91]

It has been already noted that when Muhammad Khan Bangash was moving westward from Tarhwan he left his son, Qaim Khan, to capture the fort of Tarhwan[92] which was accomplished on 12 December 1727. But no sooner than Qaim Khan joined his father, news was received of a fresh attack of the Bundelas on the Bangash garrison posted at Tarhwan. Qaim Khan hurried back with a strong army of 5,000 horse and 5,000 foot. But in the meanwhile, the first outworks of the fort had already fallen to the Bundelas.[93]

Muhammad Khan was then pursuing the Bundelas to the

May 1721, about seven years before this event. The name of the wife of Jagat Raj was Umr Kunwar, according to Pogson; while according to letters of Chhatrasal, it was Jait Kunwar, with these exceptions the account of Pogson is accurate in substance.

86 Jaitpur is about 19 miles west of Mahoba.

87 J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 295 ; L.M. II, p. 233.

88 Sahendi is probably Seondhi 6 miles northwest of Panwari.

89 Rath is 12 miles northeast of Panwari. (26 miles n.w. of Mahoba)

90 Auli-Irvine takes it to be Orai which is 28 miles north of Rath.

91 J.A.S.B., 1878, p. 295-96.

92 Tarahwan is 42 miles southeast of Banda.

93 J.A.S.B., 1878, p. 296 ; L.M. II, p. 236.

hills of Ajhnar and thence to the fort of Jaitpur. The fort of Tarhwan was besieged a second time by Qaim Khan. On 24 September 1728, the outer fort was captured by Mughals. The siege continued for more than a month. On 1 November 1728, the explosion of a mine, which was dug deep under one of the bastions, expedited the capture of the fort.[94] Qaim Khan now pursued the fleeing Bundelas and inflicted heavy loss on them. He overran swiftly the whole region as far as Bargarh.[95] When Qaim Khan was still thick in the drive of the Bundelas, "the Marathas suddenly appeared on the 12 March 1729 to turn Muhammad Khan's course of victory into defeat."[96]

The capture of Jaitpur (December 1728) completely humbled the Bundelas. Hirde Sah, Jagat Raj, Laxman Singh and others surrendered with their families. Soon after Chhatrasal himself accompanied by ten thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot and his Rani and grandsons also submitted.[97] They stayed in the Mughal camps for about three months (December 1728 to February 1729) waiting for some response from the court of a communication addressed to the Emperor by Muhammad Khan Bangash, which described the recent victories and sought the Emperor's permission to bring the prisoners to Delhi.[98]

However, negotiations between Bangash and Chhatrasal continued. The latter swore fealty to the Mughal Emperor. He also agreed to restore the possession of imperial territories which he had previously seized and agreed to the setting up of imperial military posts throughout his country.[99]

No communication from Delhi having been received, three months passed in these negotiations. During this period, Chhatrasal had appealed to Burhan-ul-mulk Saadat Khan (a rival of Muhammad Khan Bangash), who encouraged him to defy the designs of Bangash. Other Amirs also secretly instigated him to renew the resistance.[100] Chhatrasal was shrewd

94 Ibid.

95 Bargarh is probably Barigarh which is 10 miles southeast of Mahoba.

96 J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 296.

97 Ibid., p. 297. According to Warid, Chhatrasal also paid 40 lacs to save his dominions. L.M. II, p. 237. Warid, p. 153 (b) S.M.

98 J.A.S,B. 1878, p. 297 ; L.M. II, p. 237.

99 Ibid.

100 Ibid.

enough to exploit the weak position of Muhammad Khan at the imperial court. He waited for a suitable opportunity to break through the Mughal camp, which presented itself in February 1729. Holi Festival was drawing near.[101] Hirde Sah, Jagat Raj and Chhatrasal, approached Bangash to allow them to proceed to Suraj Mau[102] to celebrate the festival. They represented that Chhatrasal had grown weak of old age and might die any moment. They also pointed out that the death of Chhatrasal in confinement would bring much odium to him.[103] Bangash did not feel anything was amiss and permitted them to move to Suraj Mau for the time being to celebrate Holi. Hirde Sah, Jagat Raj and others were allowed to accompany Chhatrasal (February 1729).

Muhammad Khan was so convinced of the speedy conclusion of the compaign, that he allowed most of his soldiers to depart on leave and distributed the rest among the various military posts, which were established in the conquered territories. He had with him only a force of about 4,000 horse men, when the rumours of a possible Maratha invasion spread far and wide.[104] Bangash, who must have heard about the recent happenings in Malwa, was lured into inaction by his misplaced confidence in the Bundelas. He had also perhaps not anticipated the possibility of the Marathas marching into Bundelkhand by the unfrequented eastern route[105] and much less of a combination of Bundelas and Marathas against himself. Therefore, he treated the rumours with contempt and did not bestir himself to store supplies and recall his scattered soldiers to meet the contingency of the Maratha invasion. He was only convinced of his folly when the Marathas had arrived within 22 miles of his camp.[106]

101 The Holi that year fell on the 4 March. Dighe, p. 107.

102 Suraj Mau is most probably Mau Sahaniya, which is 18 miles southwest of Jaitpur.

103 J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 297.

104 Ibid., pp. 297-98; L.M. II, p. 237-38; Warid, p. 153(b) S.M.

105 N.H.M. II, p. 105-6.

106 J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 298; L.M. II, p. 238.

IV

Bajirao to the Rescue

The Marathas had recently acquired ascendancy in the subah of Malwa by their victory in the battle of Amjhera (November 29, 1728), in which Girdhar Bahadur the imperial Governor of the province and his cousion Daya Bahadur were killed.[107] They were busy in the consolidation of their new conquest, when they received the communications from Chhatrasal imploring them to hurry to his rescue. Chhatrasal addressed letters to Chimnaji Appa at Ujjain and Bajirao for immediate succour.[108]

Bajirao was then moving towards Deogarh. He informed Chimnaji of his intended march in to the country of Chhatrasal by way of Chanda and Deogarh.[109] In another letter to his brother (4 January 1729) the Peshwa again made reference to his proposed expedition to Bundelkhand, after setting the affairs of Deogarh and directed Chimnaji to come immediately to his assistance, when summoned.[110] Towards the close of January 1729, peace was made with the Raja of Deograh and the Peshwa started towards Bundelkhand through the territories

107 *Malwa in Transition*, pp. 163-64.

108 N.H.M. Vol. II, p. 105.
Dr. Dighe rightly remarks, ". . . The financial liabilities of the Peshwa which were accummulatening and for lightening which he was anxious to find new fields for conquest. In the search of new fields the Peshwa determined to lead his forces into Bundelkhand, where the Bundela chief Chhatrasal had invoked his aid to repel the aggressions of the Mughal Governor, Muhammad Khan Bangash." Dighe, p. 104. S.P.D., Vol. XIII, 14, 15, 18, 22, 29, etc.
Here it may also be noted that one Dado Bhimsen, who seems to have been Peshwa's agent at Delhi, communicated the news of the conflict between Chhatrasal and Bangash in a letter dated 17 August 1728 and urged the Peshwa to utilise the opportunity to cross the Narbada and threaten Malwa. He also advised the Peshwa to write a letter to Chhatrasal to the effect that Marathas would come to his aid after the Dashahra. S.P.D. XIII, 10.

109 S P.D. Vol. XIII, 23 (27 December 1728).

110 S.P.D. Vol. XIII, 30 (4 January 1729).

of Mandla[111] and Garha.[112] Sometime in February 1729 Bajirao received the emissaries of Chhatrasal, who begged him to proceed to the succour of Chhatrasal, without any further loss of time.[113] Bajirao now marched rapidly towards Bundelkhand with about 25,000 horsemen placed under able commanders like Pilaji Jadav, Naro Shankar, Tukoji Pawar and Dewalji Somvanshi, etc. twelve in all.[114] He reached Khirji[115] in Bundelkhand on 5 March and passing through the territories of Pawai[116] arrived at Bikrampur[117] three days later. On 9 March when the Peshwa was at Bikrampur two messengers were sent to Chhatrasal probably to inform him of the arrival of the Marathas in the vicinity and eight messengers were despatched to Bangash.[118] One Chintamani also followed closely on their

111 Mandla is about 48 miles southeast of Jubbulpore.

112 Garha is 48 miles northwest of Mandla (near Jubbulpore).

113 N.H.M. II, p. 106. These emissaries carried the personal appeal of Chhatrasal to Peshwa, which was in verse and consisted of about 100 couplets, only the following two lines of which are preserved by tradition:

जो गति ग्राह गजेन्द्र की सो गति भई है आज।
बाजी जात बुंदेल की राखो बाजी लाज॥

("Know you, Bajirao, that I am in the same sad plight in which the famous elephant was, when caught by the crocodile. My valiant race is on the point of extinction. Come and save my honour.")
also see D. V. Potdar's article "Bajirao in the land of the brave Bundelas."

One Hindi writer Bhagirath Prasad Dikshit contends that the famous Hindi poet Bhushan was one of the emissaries and it was he who composed these lines. He, however, does not cite his authority. Dikshit, p. 144.

But tradition assigns the composition of this verse to Chhatrasal, who himself was a poet of no mean repute. Then Chattrasal also makes allusion to this mythological tale in one of his verses, which makes it all the more probable that the couplet in question, might have been composed by him. See Ch. Gr. pp. 30-31 verse 2.

114 J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 298; N.H.M. II, p. 106.

115 Khirji—probably Khajuri about 18 miles northwest of Jubbulpore. (For Peshwa's movements vide his intinerary in Bundelkhand given in Wad., Vol. II, pp. 229-30 and S.P.D., Vol. XXX, pp. 288-89).

116 Pawai is about 30 miles south of Panna.

117 Bikrampur is about 78 miles north of Khajuri and about 18 miles north west of Pawai.

118 S.P.D. XXII. 36, pp. 22-23.

heels.[119] The Peshwa reached Rajgarh[120] on 10 March where Bhartichand, a son Chhatrasal, met him.[121] Passing through Basari[122] (11 March), Bajirao arrived near Mahoba[123] on 12 March, where another son of Chhatrasal accorded him welcome. On 13 March Chhatrasal himself paid a visit to the Peshwa. He offered presents and entertained him. On 17 March Chhatrasal again made a present of 80 mohars to the Peshwa.[124]

Muhammad Khan Bangash now bestirred himself and hurriedly assembled an army of about 10,000 horse and 10,000 foot and threw entrenchments round his camp. No assistance was received from the local chiefs except from Raja Jai Singh of Maudaha, who till now had proved a valuable ally. But the Rajah too seems to have been affected by the general indifference. He discharged most of his 1,000 men and kept with him only a small force of one hundred horse and one hundred foot. Kunwar Laxman Singh, the brother of the Rajah of Orchha, remained with Bangash for sometime. But soon afterwards, he also abandoned the Muhammadan camp with his four or five thousand men on some pretext. The situation was further aggravated by the fact that Bangash was running short of money. The revenues of *Chakla* Kora were not received. Ammunition too was needed. He addressed urgent appeals to the Emperor to send "100 maunds of lead, 1000 manuds of gun powder, two large cannon and 15 Rahkalas"[125] and also directed his son, Qaim Khan, who was at Tarahwan to join him immediately.[126]

119 Ibid,

120 Rajgarh is about 12 miles northwest of Bikrampur and 14 miles west of Panna.

121 S P.D. XXII (p. 21) 36. The name is wrongly given in S.P.D. as Bharti Singh. It was Bharti Chand. See P.R. 3 (Bhartichand to Ch. S., 27 May 1699).

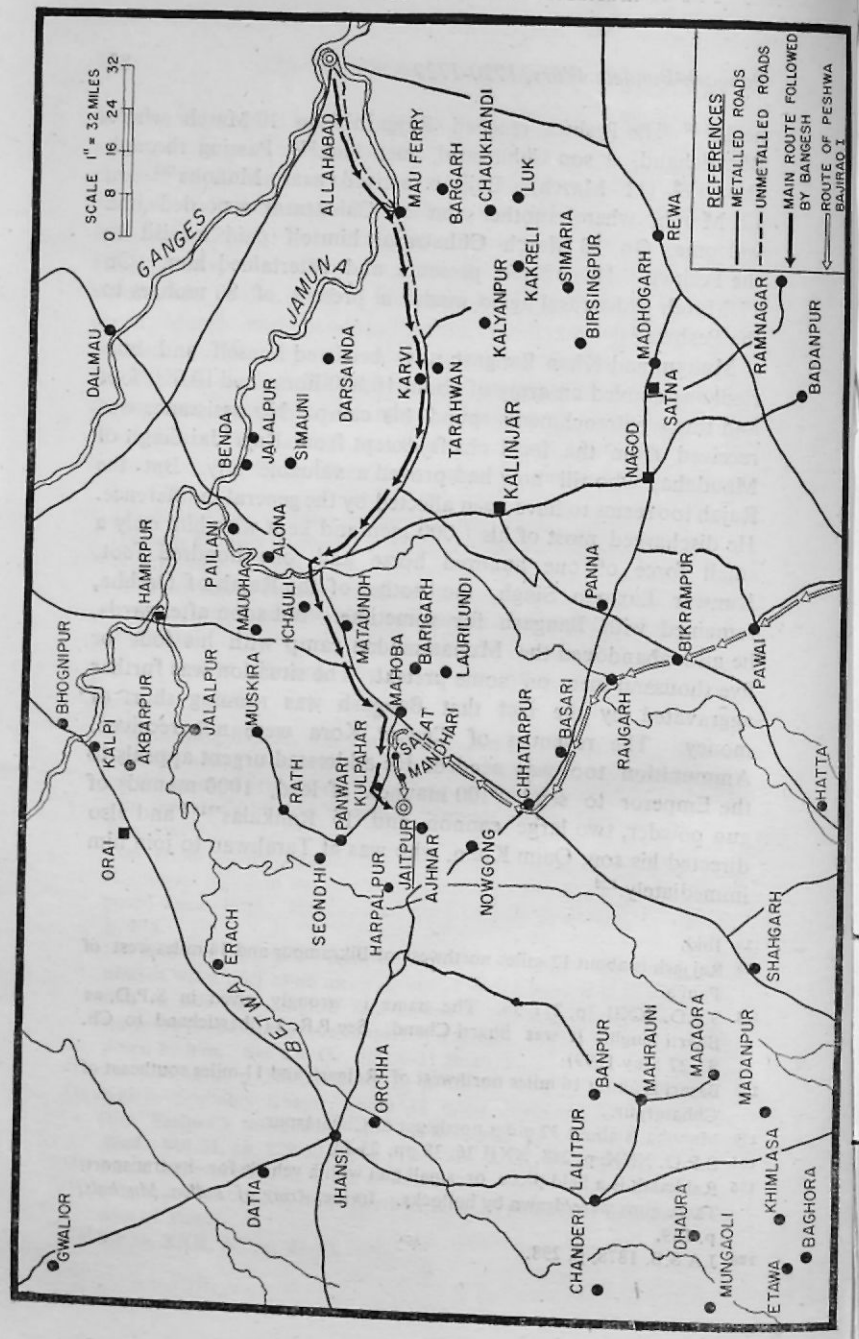
122 Basari is about 16 miles northwest of Rajgarh and 11 miles southeast of Chhatarpur.

123 Mahoba is about 32 miles northeast of Chhatarpur.

124 S.P.D. XXX, p. 288, XXII 36, 38 pp. 23-24.

125 Rahkalah is a field piece or small gun with a vehicle for its transport. These guns were drawn by bullocks. Irvine, *Army of Indian Mughals*, p. 139.

126 J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 298.



The advance parties of the Marathas had first made their appearance within two miles of the Mughal encampment in the hills of Ajhnar on 12 March. But their attempt to drive away the grazing cattle was foiled. The following day the Marathas came still nearer and cut down the, ponies camels and other beasts of burden, which had been sent out to bring grass. Muhammad Khan attempted a surprise on 15 March but it yielded no results.[127]

The main Maratha army started moving towards Jaitpur on 19 March.[128] In the meanwhile the Marathas were also joined by the neighbouring *Zamindars* and their number swelled to 70,000[129] They now surrounded the Mughal camp and cut off the supplies by closing all the roads.[130] The prices of foodstuffs soared very high. The worst quality of grain sold at twenty rupees a seer and the other articles of food were not available. The next months, they lived on the flesh of camels, horses and cows. The Marathas would not relent a little. Their frequent attacks on the besieged gradually reduced the number of the latter and made their position very precarious and untenable.[131]

Qaim Khan, who had received the news of the sad state of affairs, in his father's camp, rapidly advanced from Tarahwan with supplies and reinforcements towards Jaitpur and reached Supa[132] towards the close of April. Marathas relaxed their hold on the besieged and despatched a strong detachment to check the progress of Qaim Khan. Taking advantage of the divided attention of the Marathas, the beleaguered soldiers of Muhammad Khan who were reduced to sore straits, left Muhammad Khan in the lurch and set off towards Jaitpur.[133] Only about a thousand still adhered to Muhammad Khan. Now the Bundelas swooped down from the hills of Ajhnar and the

127 Ibid., 1878, pp. 298-99; L.M. II, p. 238.
128 S.P.D. XXX, p. 289.
129 J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 298.
130 Ibid , p. 299. See also S.P.D. Vol. XIII 45 (Pilaji Jadhav to Narain Dixit, 4 April 1729).
131 J.AS.B. 1878, p. 299; L.M. II, p. 238.
132 Supa is 12 miles northeast of Jaitpur.
133 J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 299; L.M. II, p. 239.

uneven contest continued for three hours.[134] Muhammad Khan was forced to fall back on Jaitpur. In the meanwhile Qaim Khan was utterly routed at Supa (27 April 1729) by the Marathas, who seized a large booty which included 3,000 horses and 13 elephants.[135]

Now the combined armies of Marathas and Bundelas converged upon Jaitpur and laid siege to the fort.[136] They tried to take the fort by assault, but being foiled in their attempts, they decided upon the strategy of starving out the besieged garrison.[137] The seige continued for about four months. Provisions were exhausted and horses and gun-bullocks were killed to satisfy the urge of hunger. No food was available and the small quantities of flour could only be obtained at rupees hundred a seer.[138] Death ended miseries of some, while many others deserted and secured their passage through the ranks of the besiegers, by surrendering their arms.[139]

Muhammad Khan in this great hour of need sent urgent appeals for immediate assistance to the Emperor, the great nobles and the Rajahs, but in vain. The Emperor at first ordered *Bakhshi* (the first Paymaster of the Empire) *Khan Dauran* Samsam-ud-daulah to proceed to Jaitpur but later on seems to have grown indifferent on account of the procrastinating attitude of that noble, who not only delayed his departure on one excuse or the other, but also informed the Bundelas that an army was being sent by the "thoughtless monarch." He went even to the extent of suggesting, Chhatrasal to slay his (*Khan Dauran's*) arch enemy (that Bangash was !) and promised that the head of Muhammad Khan Bangash "would be an acceptable gift to lay at the feet of the Emperor and would secure the sender high dignity and reward." He also tried to dissuade the Emperor from his intentions to provide aid to Bangash by pointing out the dangers to which the throne would be exposed by the presence of a successful general of the stamp and character of Muhammad Khan Bangash who might become rebellious at any time.[140]

Needless to add that not so much as a finger was raised to aid and encourage Muhammad Khan. Sorely disappointed and helpless against heavy odds, he now advised his son, Qaim Khan, to seek assistance from Burshan-ul-mulk, the Governor of Oudh at Faizabad. But the latter proved treacherous and tried to imprison Qaim Khan. The Pathans who were in the service of the Governor of Oudh were touched to the quick by his faithless action and about 1,200 of them joined Qaim Khan on their own accord, while he was proceeding to Shahjahanpur.[141] Ali Mohammad Khan of Bangarh[142] provided Qaim Khan with some more recruits. Then Qaim Khan proceeded to his home town Mau Shamsabad[143] where he enlisted an army of 30,000 soldiers by promising each a salary of rupees hundred per month.[144] He disposed of the goods and chattle of his father and secured loans from money-lenders to satisfy the demands of his soldiers. He now advanced towards Bundelkhand.[145]

During the period when Qaim Khan was busy in assembling the aforesaid army, the siege of Jaitpur had been pressed hard by the Marathas with unabated vigour. The besieged garrison was reduced to great straits and suffered untold miseries and

131 Ibid.

135 Rajwade, vol. III, No. 14 ; S.P.D. XXX, p. 289; N.H.M. II, p. 107; L.M. II, pp. 238-39. Of these 13 elephants one was presented to Hirde Sah, son of Chhatrasal, and the remaining were sent to Shahu. S.P.D. XXX. 96, p. 291.

136 Irvine states that the siege of Jaitpur began about the middle of May 1729; while according to S.P.D. Marathas closed on Jaitpur on 29 April. J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 302; S.P.D. XXX, p. 289.

137 J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 300.
Dr. Dighe points out that "in the absence of heavy artillery, the allied armies could not carry the enemy's position by assault . . ." Dighe, p. 107.

138 "Some of the Marathas used to come at night with supplies of flour half of which was made of grounded bones. Those inside let down the money by a rope, flour was attached in its place at the rate of a seer for rupees hundred and the rope was then drawn up." J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 300; Siyar, p. 261.

139 J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 300 ; L.M. II, p. 239.

140 L.M. II, pp. 239-40; Warid 153(b), 154(a) S.M.

141 J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 301; L.M. II, p. 240.

142 Bangarh is 10 miles north of Budaon.

143 Mau Shamsabad is 9 miles northwest of Farrukhabad.

144 J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 301.

145 Ibid.

privations. In the meanwhile an epidemic broke in the Maratha camp and took the toll of a thousand lives. The rains had already set in. This was the time for the Marathas to return to their rainy season camps. Therefore, "alarmed at the losses by disease and anxious to get home, the Marathas raised the siege and marched for the Dakhin."[146]

But Chhatrasal unaffected by the departure of the Marathas continued the siege with his 20,000 men.[147] Another short period elapsed when the news of the advancing army under Qaim Khan, which had already crossed the Jamuna and entered Bundelkhand, prompted Chhatrasal to open negotiations with Muhammad Khan, who was still unaware of the arrival of his son.

Muhammad Khan was allowed to evacuate the fort (August 1729) and was given a safe passage. He signed a convenant by which he agreed never to invade the territories of Chhatrasal again, and to remain satisfied with the stipulated tribute which he received formerly.[148] Qaim Khan met his father on the way and suggested that the war be renewed, which however, was rejected by Muhammad Khan, who was not willing to break the agreement with Bundelas. Moreover, it may pertinently be suggested, that Muhammad Khan was shrewd enough, not to be convinced of the futility of war for the lost cause of a sinking Empire. He recrossed the Jamuna at Kalpi on the 23 September 1729, and led no expedition into Bundelkhand for a second time. In 1144 H. (July 1731 to June 1732) he was removed from the Government of Allahabad which was now conferred on Sarbuland Khan.[149]

146 L.M. II, 240. According to S.P.D. XXX (p. 289) the Marathas started for the Deccan on 22 May 1729. Chimnaji Appa in a letter to Brahmendra Swami (4 May 1729) made reference to this expedition of Bajirao in Bundelkhand to help Chhatrasal. *Brahmendra Swami Charitra*, p. 68.

147 Warid, 154 (a); S.M.; L.M. II, p. 240.

148 J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 301; L.M. II, p. 241; Warid, 154(a) S.M.; M.U. III, pp. 771-72.
According to the author of *Seir Mutaqherin*, Qaim Khan rescued his father, which is, however, incorrect. Siyar, p. 261.

149 J.A.S.B. 1878, p. 304; L.M. II, p. 241; Siyar. pp. 261-62.

CHAPTER VI

CHHATRASAL'S RELATIONS WITH BAJIRAO

I

The Peshwa, an Adopted Son

The momentous help rendered by Peshwa Bajirao I in the war with Bangash put the relations between Chhatrasal and the Marathas on an entirely different footing. Till the early months of the reign of Emperor Muhammad Shah, Chhatrasal was actively cooperating with the imperialists in Malwa against the Marathas[1], but now this antagonism was replaced by the most cordial relations between the two. Chhatrasal, who was too conscious of his advancing old age and knew well the incompetence of his sons to preserve the fabric of the principality which he had created by his own individual efforts, deemed it wise to secure the support of the rising Maratha power under the Peshwa to whom he was already indebted for its survival. Therefore, he declared Bajirao to be his adoted son and promised him one third of his kingdom.[2] It was also most probably he, who presented Mastani, the famous dancing girl to the Peshwa.[3]

1 See Chapter Four on Relations of Chhatrasal with the later Mughals.

2 P.R. 20, 39, 62, 63, 91, 92 and 94.
Marathvanche Parakram (Bundelkhand Prakaran), pp. 73-75.

3 The origin of Mastani is shrouded in mystery, but generally it is supposed that she was presented to the Peshwa by Chhatrasal. The local tradition also supports this view. She is said to have been the daughter of a Mohammadan concubine of Chhatrasal. For detailed information and discussion, see *Bharatvarsha*, Vol. II, pp. 1-14; Indian Historical

However, the actual transfer of the portion assigned to the Peshwa was delayed as Chhatrasal did not really intend to hand it over at least within his own life time.[4] It does little credit to his honesty and sincerity that he like an income-tax dodger not only gave the Peshwa a false estimate of his possessions , but also secretly instructed Hirde Sah to postpone the transfer of the Peshwa's share as long as possible after his death. He, however, warned his son not to court the hostility of the Peshwa and counselled him to keep the latter in good humour by advancing smaller sums of money, whenever he became impatient for partition.[5]

II

Bajirao and the Successors of Chhatrasal

The cordial relations established by Chhatrasal were maintained by his successors who proved valuable allies to the Marathas in Bundelkhand.[6] Shortly after the death of Chhatrasal Hirde Sah and Jagat Raj handed jagirs valued at only two lacs to the Peshwa.[7] Bajirao sent a condolence message to Hirde Sah on

Records Commission Proceedings, Vol. XVII ; V.D. Rao's paper pp. 47-51 ; N.H.M. II, p. 108, 178-80; *Marathi Riyasat* (5), pp. 403-15; *Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal Quarterly*, Vol. VI, Articles by Diwekar; D.V. Potdar, *Bajirao in the land of the brave Bundelas*; Dighe, p. 201; *Nag. Prach. Patrika*, Vol. IX, pp. 179-80; S.P.D. IX, 30-34, 35, 36.

4 P.R. 20. In this letter Chhatrasal intimates the Peshwa of his intentions to annex some more territories to his Kingdom and therefore suggests him to wait till these annexations have been carried out. He assures the Peshwa of his honest intentions and asks him to accept sum of two lacs for the time being. Somewhat later another sum of a lac was given to the Peshwa. P.R. 39.

5 P.R. 39. The territories of Chhatrasal valued at one and half crores but he told Peshwa that they yielded only one crore.

6 For the portion assigned to Peshwa see Chapter ten, on the administration of Chhatrasal, and for the expansion of Maratha power in Bundelkhand during the Peshwaship of Bajirao see S.P.D. XIV. 7-9, 12-3, 23, 39, 49, 52, etc.; S.P.D. XV, 4, 8-16, 87-90.

7 P.R. 90.

the death of Chhatrasal.[8] Towards the closing months of the year 1732 Chimanji Appa arrived in Bundelkhand to secure the partition of the territories of Chhatrasal and exact tribute from other local chiefs. Govind Ballal Kher, who was deputed to carry out these negotiations with the sons of Chhatrasal, succeeded in obtaining the jagirs valued at one lac, and one and quarter lacs respectively from Jagat Raj and Hirde Sah and also acquired the fort of Rajgarh[9] from the latter.[10] But the complete transfer of the promised share to Peshwa seems to have been delayed as is evidenced by the letters of Bajirao pressing his claims.[11]

Peshwa Bajirao however abstained from taking stringent measures against the sons of Chhatrasal in order to realise his claims earlier, most probably because he required their support and cooperation in the expansion of Maratha power in northern India in general and in the Bundelkhand in particular. The great esteem in which he held Chhatrasal must also have been an additional reason for this lenient attitude towards them.[12] Influenced by these considerations the Peshwa made

8 P.R. 91.
The Peshwa in the closing lines of this letter reminds him the promise of Chhatrasal about one third share in the kingdom.

9 Rajgarh is 14 miles west of Panna.

10 S.P.D. XIV, 7-9.

11 P.R. 94, 96.
This second letter (96) is in the nature of a treaty. This is in Bundelkhandi dialect. The accurate Marathi copy of this document may be seen in *Treaties, agreements and Sanads* selected by R.B. Ganesh Chimaji Vad., pp. 9-10.
In the first letter (94) the Peshwa remonstrates with Hirde Sah on the delay in partition, while in the second he wants the latter to complete the transfer and acknowledges the receipt of jagirs valued at 5 lacs.
In view of these letters Dr. Dighe's remark that "the partition was effected without the smallest hitch" (p. 113) does not seem to be justified. The partition was effected in instalments and under duress. This intentional delay on the part of Hirde Sah may be explained by the instructions contained in the letter (P.R.39) of Chhatrasal to Hirde Sah, which has already been referred to.

12 In his letter of condolence (P.R. 91) to Hirde Sah and Jagat Raj, Bajirao makes reference to Chhatrasal by the term 'Kakkaju' which is equivalent to uncle in Bundelkhandi dialect. Sons of Chhatrasal also address their father as 'Kakkaju'.

treaties and agreements with Hirde Sah and Jagat Raj. He promised to respect the territorial integrity of their respective principalities and pledged unstinted support to them in the contingency of a Mughal invasion of their kingdoms. The other clauses of these treaties provided mutual cooperation against the Mughals, and the division of the booty acquired in the plundering operations carried into Mughal territories according to the strength of the respective forces taking part in them and contained pledges not to offer shelter to deserters from one another's camp.[13]

Thus on the whole the relations between the successors of Chharasal and the Peshwa Bajirao remained peaceful and cordial. The Peshwa like a dutiful son also shared with Hirde Sah and Jagat Raj the expenses incurred in the construction of the memorial of Chhatrasal at Dhuvela[14], which however remained unfinished.[15]

[13] P.R. 90, 91, 93, 96.

[14] Dhuvela is about one mile from Mau which is four miles south of Nowgong in Madhya Pradesh.

[15] It still stands at Dhuvela Tal. There is another finished memorial of Chhatrasal built by Hirde Sah and Jagat Raj near it.

CHAPTER VII

PRANAMI SECT—CHHATRASAL AND THE SAINT PRAN NATH

Dev Chandra The Founder, 1581-1655

Dev Chandra, the founder of the Pranami sect[1], was born in a Kayastha family on Wednesday, the 11th October 1581, in Amarkot now known as Umarkot, where Akbar the Great was born about forty years before. His father, Nattu Mehta, was a rich merchant and mother Kunwar Bai was well-known for her piety.[2] Many folk tales and miracles are associated with the childhood and youth of Dev Chandra. Even when he was only a child, questions regarding the universe, the soul, and its relation to the Supreme Being, etc. began to trouble his meditative mind. He sought the company of the pious and the learned for the solace of his heart.

At the age of thirteen Dev Chandra accompanied his father to Bhujpur in Cutch on business. It was here that he met one Haridas Gosain, who later became his teacher. After making

[1] This sect is variously known as Nijanand Sampradya, Pranami, Dhami and the Pran Nathi. Mijanand was a name of Dev Chandra, the founder of the sect and hence it came to be called Nijanand Sampradya. Pranami is said to have been originated from the word 'Pranam' by which the followers of this sect accost each other. Similarly, it is also called Pran Nathi sect after the name of its seeond great teacher Pran Nath. Dhami is a derivation from the word 'Dham' (or the Hallowed residence) which is used for Panna. Only those Pranamis who reside at Panna are called Dhamis. Therefore, this term cannot be applied to all the followers af this sect who in general are called the Pranamis.

[2] M.C., p. 4; B.M., p. 4-5.

was impatient of worldly bonds. Dev Chandra died on Wednesday, the 5th September 1655.[10] He had once expressed to his disciple, Pran Nath, his desire to propagate his teachings in other parts of the country.[11] Now that task devolved upon his favourite disciple—Pran Nath.

Pran Nath moved from place to place preaching these new religious principles through recitations and discourses. He had discussions with the learned Maulvis, Brahmans, the followers of Kabir, Nanak and others and converted many of them to his new faith. He also travelled widely in Kathiawar, Kutch, Sindh, visited the Persian port Bandar Abbas, Rajputana, Northern and Central India, etc. propagating his faith, in which he was successful to a certain extent.

Curiously enough Pran Nath appears at this time as a militant patriot giving moral support to the champions of Hindu India such as Mahrajah Jaswant Singh Rathore and Maharana Raj Singh. He is said to have visited Delhi and Udaipur and met Aurangzib as well. He is also credited with writing a letter addressed to Maharana Raj Singh exhorting him to fight the armies of Aurangzib, which were then converging on Ajmer but he was asked to quit Udaipur, which he accordingly did.[12]

The rising fame of Chhatrasal Bundela as the champion of Hindu religion and freedom attracted Pran Nath to Bundelkhand. Chhatrasal held aloft the torch of liberty, and round his banner had gathered all the true sons of Bundelkhand. Now a saints spiritual force was to stir the military prowess of Chhatrasal. Their eventful meeting took place accidently at Mau sometime in the year 1683 A.D. In a letter to his son, Jagat Raj, Chhatrasal writes to say that he met Pran Nath in a jungle near Mau all alone, when he was on a hunting excursion.[13] From now onwards Bundelkhand became the perma-

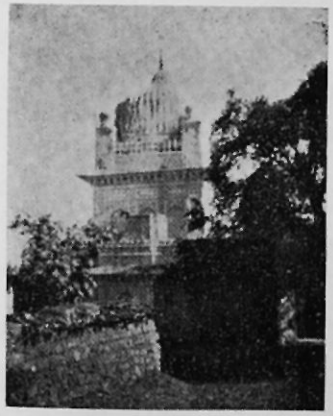
[10] M.C., p. 32; B.M., p. 127.

[11] B.M., p. 150.

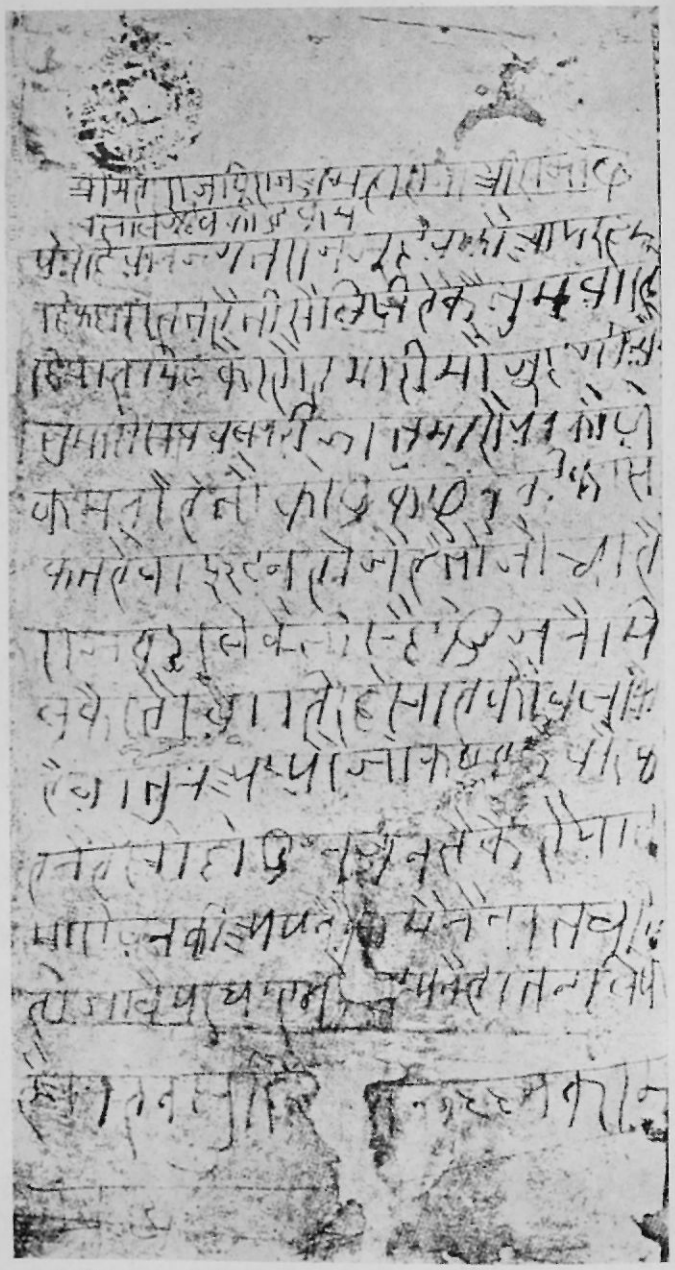
[12] B.M., p. 241, 310, 312-17; M.C., p. 100-61.

[13] P.R. 46. Chhatrasal mentions that this meeting took place in Samvat 1732 (1675 A.D.) Here the year given in Pranami scriptures, i.e. Samvat 1740, has been accepted, since it is more reliable than the letter of Chhatrasal which was written about fifty years after the event. M.C., pp. 211-12; B.M., p. 346-47; *Navrangdas-ki-Bani*, p. 174; *Lal Das Bijak*, p. 489-92. For detailed discussion see Appendix 3.

1. Maharaja Chhatrasal Bundela *(top)*



2. Memorial of Chhatrasal Bundela *(left)*



3. Chhatrasal's letter to his son Jagat Raj in his own handwriting

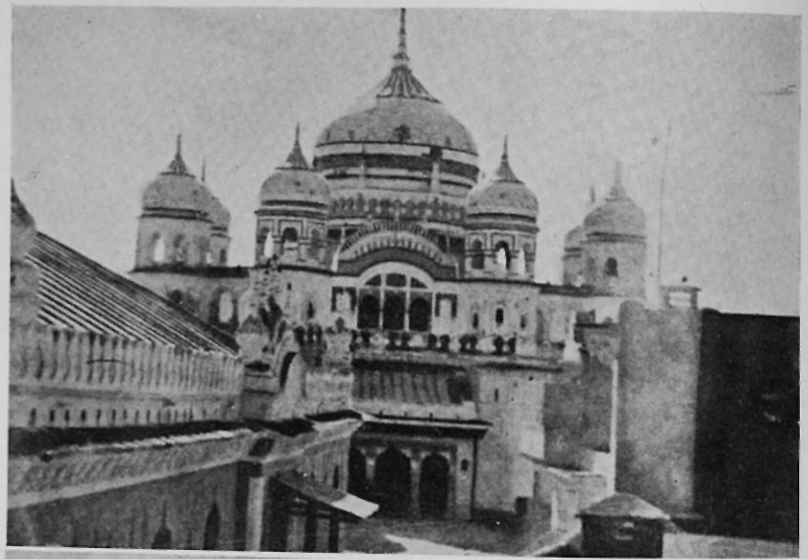
पत्र की प्रतिलिपि

श्री महाराजधिराज श्री महाराजा श्री राजा छत्रसाल जू देव कौ हुकम अेते दिमान जगतराज जू देव कौ आपर हम दिकदार रहत है ती सै लिषी है कै तुम वा हिरदेसाह मिल कै रहौ हमारी मौजूदगी मैं तुमारी सव वन परी जा तुमारौ इनकौ अेक मन रैहे तो कोऊ कछू नही कर सकत है वा फूटन हो जै है जौ चाहै राज बढ़ा लैवै तीसै दोऊ जनै मिल कै रहौ व हिरदेसाह कौ वुलावो है वा तुम आओ जो कछू तुम कौ कहने है सो दोऊ जनन ते कैहै या तुमारी वनकी अपने सामने वातचीत हो जावै **परचा हमने अपने हातन लिषौ है**

अगहन सुदि १ संवत १७८८ मुकाम मऊ

शुक्रवार, १६ नवंबर १७३१ ई०

4. Copy of the letter



5. Pranami Temple, Panna *(top)*
6. Unfinished Memorial of Chhatrasal Bundela built by Peshwa Bajirao I *(below)*

nent abode of Swami Pran Nath till his death in Panna on Friday, the 29th June 1694.

Chhatrasal and Pran Nath

Swami Pran Nath was to Chhatrasal, what Ramdas had been to Shivaji. Pran Nath provided the necessary spiritual sustaining force to the political activities of Chhatrasal. But certainly he was much more to Chhatrasal than what Ramdas was to Shivaji, as the influence of Ramdas on Shivaji was only spiritual and not political.[14] Pran Nath actively voiced, through his religion, the political opposition to the reactionary and anti-Hindu policy of Aurangzib. He roused the public opinion against the Mughals and his missionary zeal pulverised the cause of Bundela independence. Pran Nath roused the masses by his stirring appeals; one such piece of his eloquence runs thus :

राजा ने मली रे राजे राय तनों। धर्म जाता रे कोई थोड़ो ॥
जागो ने जोधा रे उठ बड़े रहो। नींद निगोड़ी रे छोड़ो ॥ 1
टूटत हेरे वर्ग छत्रियो से ॥ धर्म जात हिंदुआन ॥
सत न छोड़ो रे सत्यवादियो ॥ जोर बढ्यो तुरकान ॥ 2
त्रैलोकी में रे उत्तम खंड भरत कौ ॥ तामैं उत्तम हिंदु धरम ॥
ताके छत्रपतियों के सिर ॥ आये रही इत सरम ॥ 4
असुर लगाये रे हिन्दुओं पर जेजिया ॥ वाकी मिले नहीं पानपान ॥
जो गरीब न दें सके जेजिया ॥ ताय मार करे मुसलमान ॥ 16
बात सुनी रे बुंदेले छत्रसाल ने ॥ आगे आय पड़ा रे तरवार ॥
सेवा ने लई रे सारी थिर पेंच के ॥ साँइये किया सेन्यापति सिरदार ॥ 20

("The Turks have thrown down the gauntlet. They are suppressing the religion and all the ruling dynasties are watching with unconcern. This sacred land and the most sacred Hindu religion demands immediate war against the oppressor. Ask from the Pandits that without protecting their religion, how they dare to call themselves the protectors of the faith. Who does not fly at once to the call of the religion, loses all claims

14 Sarkar, *Shivaji*, p. 382.

to bravery : Chhatrasal Bundela has taken up the challenge. Flock to his standards."[15])

Pran Nath's piety and great personality drew to himself many followers from all ranks and swelled the number of Bundela forces fighting the Mughals. Pran Nath sometimes even accompanied Chhatrasal in his expeditions and "kept up the spirit of the Bundela Chief and his levies."[16] He preached a divine sanction to the noble warlike mission of Chhatrasal and thereby raised him in the esteem of his people who look upon him (Chhatrasal) even today as a divinity or divine incarnation.

Above all, it was Pran Nath who supplied the sinews of the war of Bundela independence by imparting Chhatrasal in need, a secret, namely the knowledge of the diamond mines of Panna, which till then were not known to him.[17] It greatly eased the financial distress, which was retarding the progress of the Bundela arms. Then again, it was Pran Nath, who advised Chhatrasal to establish his capital at Panna,[18] and prompted him to perform the coronation ceremony, in order to legalise and put beyond challenge his position as a ruler. In short, Swami Pran Nath was a perennial source of inspiration, and strength, upon which Chhatrasal often drew in moments of severe disappointment and trouble. Thus he was at once the teacher, the financier and adviser to the Bundela Chief.

Pranami Sect

The Pranami religious sect is actually a reforming and liberal sect of Hinduism. Its philosophy and principles are said to have been revealed to its founder, Dev Chandra, by Lord Krishna himself, which only indicates that they were derived from a close study of the Gita and Srimad Bhagwat. Puranas and Vedas are also quoted in the holy scripture of this sect

15 Kulzam (Kirtan Prakaran 57).
16 B.M., pp. 445-46.
17 P.R., 46 (Ch. S. to Jag., 21 April 1730). Ch. P., p. 160.
18 Ibid.

known as Kulzam[19] to impart authenticity to its doctrines.

The Pranami religion is a mixture of monotheism and polytheism. According to it there are three divisions of the Universe. One is known as *Kshar* (क्षर) or destructible. It comprises the whole of creation which is subject to decay and destruction. Beyond Kshar there is *Akshar Brahma* (अक्षर ब्रह्म) which is the collective name given to the three deities, Brahma, the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver and Mahesh the Destroyer. But in the Pranami religious sect the Supreme God or *Aksharatit* (अक्षरातीत) in their phraseology is placed above the Trinity.

The Supreme God is the ultimate source from which all the living creatures and Nature itself have sprung. In their scriptures, God is the Supreme Being altogether distinct from the creatures He had made, and the Universe. He is unaffected and uncontaminated by the Universal Maya or delusion, like a lotus flower, which remains distinct from the pool in which it rests. In the *Kulzam* the theory of *Karma* (Acts) has been upheld and idolatory discouraged.[20] According to it the best form of worship is meditation.

19 *Kulzam*, also known as *Tar Tamya Sagar*, is the scripture of Pranami sect. *Tar Tamya Sagar* literary means 'limitless ocean'. The scripture is not written in a uniform style, nor does it maintain the uniformity of the language or the matter. The same ideas are sometimes variously expressed in Gujarati, Sindhi and Hindi interspersed with Arabic and Persian words rendering it imperative to a reader to have at least a good working knowledge of all these languages, in order to understand its contents. It consists of the following fourteen books in all.

1) *Ras*, 2) *Prakash*, 3) *Khatruti*, 4) *Kalas*, 5) *Sanandh*, 6) *Kirtan*, 7) *Khulasa*, 8) *Khilwat*, 9) *Parkarma*, 10) *Sagar*, 11) *Singar*, 12) *Sindhi*, 13) *Marfatsagar, and* 14) *Kayamatnama.*

The difference of langage in these different books was due to the zeal of Swami Pran Nath to preach his doctrines in the language of the poeple, whom he was addressing. For at one place he says "Now I explain in the language of the Hind, for the Muslims of Hind." At another he declares "I will preach in Sindhi for the Muslims of that place."
Kulzam Sanandh Prakarn verses 3, 4, 13, 14, etc.

20 It is noteworthy that though idol worship is discouraged in theory, still it continues in practice. In the temples of Pranamis, the flute, the crown of Krishna or Radhika and the copy of *Kulzam* receive regular offerings. The walls and ceilings of the Pranami temples at Panna are profusely painted with scenes from the life of Krishna. They maintain

The fact that Swami Pran Nath was greatly influenced by the cults of Kabir and Nanak is amply borne out by the verses of the *Kulzam*. The Muslims and the Hindus come under equally severe satire and criticism for the unreasoned faith they put in the superstitions of their respective creeds. The religious controversies between them are reconciled by pointing out repeatedly that both the Vedas and the Quran lay stress on the worship of one Supreme God. Once in a conversation with Lal Das, one of his disciple, Pran Nath remarked

जो कतेब सो वेद बताई। या में अन्तर नाहिन भाई।
येक धनी साहिब सब कैरी। दूजी मानि चित्त जिन फेरी।
हिन्दु तुरक दीन दी रायि। तिन मिल कै द्वै पंथ चलाये।
पेंचा पेंच जगत में होई। एक अरब मिल कहत न कोई।
अब मैं वेद कतेब मिलाऊँ। तिनके अरथ एक ठहराऊँ।
मेति विरोध जगत जस लेऊं एक राह परगट कर देऊँ।

("Whatever is in the Quran, so is taught by the Vedas. There is no difference between the two. One Supreme God is the Lord of all. Do not be confused by believing them to be two (different). Hindus and Turks adhere to two religions and they founded two sects. There is a sort of tug of war in the world. No one emphasises the Unity. By a comparative study of the Vedas and Quran, I would establish their inherent Unity. Thus I seek to remove antagonism and point out the Common Path.[21]

Similarly at another place he says,

जो कुछ कहा कतेब ने। सोई कहया वेद॥
दोऊ बंदे एक साहेब के। पर लड़त बिना पाये भेद।42
बोली सबी जुदा परी। नाम जुदे धरे सबन।
चलन जुदा कर दिया। ताथें समझ न परी किन।43
ताथें हुई बड़ी उरझन। सो सुरझाऊँ दोए।
नाम निशान जाहिर करूँ। ज्यों समझे सब कोए।44

("What is said in the Quran, the same has been asserted in the Vedas. Both (Hindus and Muslims) are the slaves of the same Master. But the difference of language, names and customs have created knotty problems. I will undo them by explaining the name and attributes (of God) in a way that all may understand (the Truth)"[22]

Then again

नाम सारो जुदा धरे। लई सबों जुदी रसम॥
सब में उमत और दुनियां। सोई रकदा सोई ब्रह्म॥ 32

("They all gave a different name and adopted varied rituals. All consist of the 'Soul' and the 'Universe'. Khuda and Brahma is the same."[23]

Unity in diversity is well emphasised and the vices, which have crept in both the religions are denounced in most unmistakable terms. Criticising the teachings of the Ulemas and their interpretation of the Quran, Pran Nath says,

पढ़े मुला आगे हुए। सो तो सब धाए गुमान॥
लोगों को बतावहिं। कहें हम पढ़े कुरान॥ 4

("They call themselves, learned and are puffed up with pride. They preach against the spirit of Islam and its religious texts and call themselves well versed in Quran."[24]

The following lines breathe unqualified condemnation of the religious intolerance of the Muslims,

ओ राजी एक भेष में। ताए मार छुड़ा वे दाव॥
ओ रोवे सिर पीटही। ऐ कहें हमें होत सबाब॥

("They force the Hindus to abandon their dress and customs. The latter bewail but the former consider it to be a pious act.")[25]

Then again,

जुलम करें गरीब पर। कोई न काहू फरियाद॥
कर सुनत गोस्त बिलावहीं। कहें हमें होत सबाब॥

("Muslims oppress the poor and the stricken. None redresses

all the outward paraphernalia of Hindu temples including the distribution of 'holy water' and 'prasad."

21 M.C., pp. 95-96.

22 Khulasa Prakaran of Kulzam, 11 Verse 42.

23 Ibid., p. 38.

24 Sanandh Prakaran of Kulzam, 39 verse 4.

25 Ibid., 8.

the wrongs done to them. Having affected circumcision they force them to eat meat and declare it to be a holy deed.")[26]

And in the following lines Swami Pran Nath preaches the essence of all religions.

पर सबाब तो तिनको ही वही । छोटा बड़ा सब जीऊ ॥
एकै नजरें दोष ही । सबका खाविंद पीऊ ॥ 23
जो दुख देवे किनको । सो नाहीं मुसलमान ॥
नबीं ऐं मुसलमान का । नाम धरया मेहरवान ॥ 24

("But the pious ones are those who regard all the big and the small with the same (loving) concern and believe that God is the Lord of them all. He who persecutes others is not a Musalman. The Prophet named Musalman, the one who bestows kindness.")[27]

Swami Pran Nath was also a social reformer of no mean order. He denounced caste rigidity and the Brahmins. He praises purity of heart and sincerity and condemns devotion to the outward symbols of faith meant only to deceive the people. According to him the Brahmins of Kaliyug are worse than the demons of yore. He takes his cue from Hindu mythology and tells us that Bibhishan, the celebrated brother of Ravan, while taking the oath of fidelity to Ramchandra, declared that, if he becomes unfaithful to his pledges, let him be a Brahmin in the Kaliyug.[28] Pran Nath demands at one place, "Tell me, who is an untouchable, the Sudra with an enlightened soul or the Brahmin with a callous heart devoted to worldly ends."[29]

His disciples came from all strata of society; he had a few Muslim followers as well. As a matter of fact the Pranami

[26] Ibid., 13. Many other similar verses are given in this Prakaran.
[27] Ibid., Verse 23-24.
[28] Kirtan Prakaran (Kulzam) verse 39.

असुर थकी समुबाधा रे सभीषठों । आराल श्री रघुनाथ ॥
हम सूं कपट करूं कुली माहे । ब्राह्मण थाऊं आप ॥ 39

[29] Kalas Prakaran (Kulzam) verse 14-20.

अब कहो काके हुए । अंग लगि छोत ।
अधम तम विप्र अंगे । चांडाल अंग उद्दोत । 20

faith was not directed against any other religion; it only emphasised the equality of all human beings and preached the golden rule of religious toleration But if the followers of one religion oppress the adherents of another, it is praiseworthy for the oppressed to resist the oppressing creed. Therefore, Swami Pran Nath, while not opposing Islam as a religion, actively preached against the Mughals, because they were oppressors. Thus we see in him, not only a religious preacher, but also a social reformer and a spiritual leader.

Present State of Pranamis

This faith and its followers have suffered a great deal at the hands of the Hindus, whose religious leaders could never brook any criticism to undermine their influence. Till recently in the beginning of this century the followers of Pranami sect were treated as outcastes. No social intercommunion even of a formal kind was allowed with them and all sorts of scandles regarding their social customs and religious practices were widely circulated among the people. For example, Pran Nath, according to high caste Hindus is said to have been a Muslim Prince,[30] and because there is a Panja[31] instead of a Kalash at the top of Pran Nath temple in Panna and partly due to the fact that Pranamis use to bury their dead at Panna,[32] this religion was considered to be an off shoot of Islam.[33]

The followers of Pranami religion are scattered all over Bundelkhand. But they are mostly drawn to Panna, which is their place of pilgrimage. Every year the followers of this sect, from Kathiawar, Gujrat, Bombay, Sind, Nepal, etc. gather on

[30] Pran Nath is taken to Shuja the brother of Aurangzib, who died in Arakan.
[31] The Panja or the open palm merely symbolises the hand of Pran Nath blessing his followers and has certainly nothing to do with the practices and symbols of Islam.
[32] Pran Nath met his death by burying himself alive in the ground. This practice is not quite unknown to the other Vairagis and Gosains professing Hinduism as well. Even now the Pranamis who die in Panna, are still buried, while all those who die elsewhere are cremated.
[33] As late as 1880 and 1902 the Dhamis were persecuted and expelled from Nepal. Panna Gaz., pp. 37-38.

the occasion of Sharad Purnima (Autumn Full Moon after the Puja) in Panna. As a token of old spiritual allegiance of Chhatrasal to Pran Nath, the head priest of this religious sect gives betel and nuts to the ruler of Panna descending from Chhatrasal on the Vijay Dashmi day, according to an age-old custom followed from the times of Chhatrasal.[34]

Panna is the most important place of piligrimage for Dhamis. The next in importance is Jam Nagar, where Dev Chandra attained enlightenment and Pran Nath was born.[35] At Panna besides the Pran Nath temple, there is the temple of his wife Baiji (died in Sam. 1750-1693 A D.) and the Khejra temple, which is said to be the place where Pran Nath first stayed on his visit to Panna.

The affairs of the Dhami temples at Panna are managed by an elected committee of the followers of the sect. The general management is supervised and looked after by the Kamdar. The expenses of the management are met with the revenues of the lands granted to the Pran Nath temple by the Bundela chiefs of Panna, Shahgarh, Bijawar, Charkhari, etc. and the presents offered by the Dhamis.[36]

[34] P.R. 16 (Chhatrasal S. to Jag., 21 April 1730).
[35] Jam Nagar is called Nautanpuri by the Pranamis.
[36] The land grants by the Bundela chiefs, have now been abolished under the regulations which abolished Zamindari in Vindhya Pradesh.

Appendix 2

The Date of the Meeting of Chhatrasal and Pran Nath

According to *Mehraj Charitra* (pp. 211-12), *Britant Muktavali* (p. 346), *Lal Das Bitak* (p. 489-92) and *Navrang Das Ki Bani* (p. 174), this meeting took place just in the beginning of the year 1683 A.D. (Sam. 1740) at Mau, where Pran Nath arrived with his numerous followers. *Chhatra Prakash* (p. 147) also mentions Mau as the meeting place. But in a letter to Jagat Raj (P.R. 46, 21 April 1730) Chhatrasal mentions that he met Pran Nath in a jungle near Mau all alone, when he was out on a hunting excursion in 1675 A.D. (Sam. 1732). *Lal Das Bitak* and *Britant Muktavali* also mention that Chhatrasal, when he first met Pran Nath was dressed as a hunter.

Thus it may be seen that the account given in Pranami scriptures and *Chhatra Prakash* does not agree with that of the letter of Chhatrasal However, the version of the letter is naturally to be preferred so far as the details and the place of the meeting is concerned, as none could have known them better than Chhatrasal. But the year of the meeting 1675 A D. (Samvat 1732) as given in the letter of Chhatrasal is hardly reliable for it was written more than forty years after the event, when Chhatrasal had become quite old. Then, he was also suffering with a loss of memory, which is very evident from his other letters, in which he assigns wrong years to many events. The meeting of Pran Nath and Chhatrasal should have taken place, sometime in the first half of the year 1683 A.D. i.e. in the early months of Samvat 1740, for the following two reasons:

(i) Pranami scriptures unanimously put this meeting in early Samvat 1740 (1683 A.D.)
(ii) Pranami scriptures and *Chhatra Prakash* agree that this

meeting took place when Chhatrasal was hard pressed by Afgan.

According to Akhbarats (13 January 1683 and 29 April 1685) one Afgan (Sher) was posted in Bundelkhand about 1683 A.D. to suppress the 'sons of Champat'. He also later became the *faujdar* of Irij in January 1683, in which capacity he continued till April 1685. Thus the narration of *Chhatra Prakash* and Pranami scriptures receives support from the Akhbarats and hence 1683 A.D. (Samvat 1740) may well be taken as the year of the meeting of Chhatrasal and Pran Nath.

CHAPTER VIII

CHHATRASAL AS A POET AND PATRON OF LEARNING

Chhatrasal was not an unlettered soldier, but a man of culture as well. Various collections of his poems, disclose his versatile poetic genius. His treatment of different themes like, Bhakti, the rules of conduct and statecraft was lucid and realistic.[1] He was a good judge of the merits of the poets. Great honour that he did to Bhushan[2] fairly indicates the extent to which he could be swayed by his high sense of respect and esteem towards the poets of great repute. Many a poet, chief among whom, were Bhushan, Lal Kavi, Harikesh, Nivaj and Brijbhushan, flocked to his court and shed lustre on his reign.

Bhushan

Bhushan was not the original name of the poet. This title was conferred on him by Raja Rudra, the Solanki chief of Chitrakoot. Different views have been expressed about the date of birth, birth place, period of poetry and the original

1 For extensive treatment of the poetic works of Chhatrasal, see Viyogi Hari, ed., *Chhatrasal Granthavali* Panna : Chhatrasal Smarak Samiti. In this work his poems are collected under following titles :
(1) Sir Krishna kirtan, (2) Sri Ram Yash Chandrika, (3) Hanumad Vinaya, (4) Questions of Akshar Ananya and their answers, (5) Nit Manjari, (6) Stray poems.
The following other collections of poems of Chhatrasal have also been referred to in the same compilation.
(1) Raj Vinod, (2) Giton ka Sangrah, (3) Chhatra Vilas, (4) Maharaja Chhatrasal ju ki Kavya. Chhatrasal Gr., p. 9.

2 According to tradition, Chhatrasal put his shoulder to the beam of the palanquin of Bhushan. See Appendix 3.

name of this celebrated minstrel[3], who claimed the patronage of nearly all the leading contemporary Hindu princes, like Shahu, Sawai Jai Singh, Budh Singh Hada of Bundi and Bhagwant Rai Khichi of Ashothar, etc.[4]

Bhushan met Chhatrasal towards the closing years of his reign.[5] Chhatrasal held him in great esteem and honours came thick upon the poet. Bhushan composed verses glorifying the deeds of his patron, which have been collected in his work Chhatrasal Dashak.[6]

Lalkavi[7]

The original name of the celebrated poet of *Chhatra Prakash* was Gore Lal. His ancestors belonged to the Raj Mahendri district of Andhra. Lal's monumental work *Chhatra Prakash* was written according to the directions of Chhatrasal himself.[8] *Chhatra Prakash* is not only a literary work of high merits, but its historical importance is also equally noteworthy because, it is the only available contemporary work on Chhatrasal and gives quite a detailed account of his life and work.[9] Lal Kavi is credited with the authorship of ten other works, only three of which have been published.[10]

[3] These controversies are discussed in detail in *Bhushan Vimarsh* by Bhagirath Prasad Dixit. *Vir Kavya* by U.N. Tivari (pp. 358-65); and *Hindi Sahitya ka Itihas* of Ram Chandra Shukla p. 254-56 also supply some information on these points.

[4] Dixit, pp. 149-51 ; *Vir Kavya*, pp. 263-64.

[5] Dixit, pp. 144-51.

[6] Only three collections of the verses of Bhushan have been published so far. They are Shivraj Bhushan, Shiva Bavni and Chhatrasal Dashak. There are other three works, viz. Bhushan Ullas, Dushan Ullas and Bhushan Hajara, which are also assigned to him. But so far they have not been traced. Shukla, p. 256.

[7] B.V., pp. 311-19 ; *Vir Kavya*, pp. 293-316 ; Shukla, pp. 333-35.

[8] Sanad of Chhatrasal to Lal Kavi (P.R. 6, 1 October 1712) and the following lines of Chhatrasal P. (p. 66) :

धनि चंपत कै औतरो, पंचम श्री छत्रसाल ।
जिनकी अज्ञा सीस धरि, कही कहानी लाल ॥1॥

[9] For the historicity of Chhatrasal P., see Appendix 2.

[10] The titles of these works are : (1) Chhatra Prashasti ; (2) Chhatra Chhaya, (3) Chhatra Kirti, (4) Chhatra Chhand, (5) Chhatrasal Shatak, (6) Chhatra Hajara, (7) Chhatrasal Dand, (8) Chhatra Prakash, (9) Raj Vinod, (10) Vishnu Vilas.
Only the last three have been published. (*Vir Kavya*, p. 295; B.V., p. 312)

Nivaj

Nivaj originally belonged to Antarved, but had moved to Bundelkhand, where he found favour with Chhatrasal.[11] He is also said to have been patronised by Azam Shah, the third son of Aurangzib, and translated Shakuntalam into Hindi in accordance with the wishes of that prince.

Harikesh

He was born in Sahenda (in Datia) about 1663 A.D., but later on moved to Panna, where he acquired the patronage of Chhatrasal. His known works are only two in number.[12]

Brijbhushan

According to a statement made by Brijbhushan himself, in his only available work, *Britant Muktavali*, which is a textbook of Pranami faith, he was a disciple of Chhatrasal.[13] No other details about him or his works are available.

Bakhshi Hansraj[14]

Hansraj was born at Panna. He started his poetic career towards the last years of the reign of Chhatrasal and later on, during the reigns of Hirde Sah, Sabha Singh and Aman Singh all of whom were his patrons, he grew into a maturer poet. He

[11] Shukla, p. 263 ; B.V., p. 385. It is said that Nivaj replaced a Bhagwat poet at the court of Chhatrasal and the latter composed the following satire:

भली आजकल करत ही, छत्रसाल महाराज ।
जहँ भगवत गीता पढ़ी, तहँ कवि पढ़त निवाज ॥

Nivaj was a Brahmin, but some take him to be a Muslim. According to Shiv Singh, there were two poets of the same name, one was a Muslim and the other a Brahmin. (Shiv Singh Saroj, p. 441).

[12] B.V., p. 390. Works : (1) Maharaj Jagat Singh Digvijay, (2) Brijleela.

[13] Britant Muktavali, p. 29, verse 18. This verse runs as following :

एहि विधि खोज पार पथि मांही, मत देवचंद्र सतगुरु की गायी ॥
नाद फत्त तेहि छत्रसाल नृप, तेहि शिष्य ब्रजभूषन कछु पायी ॥18॥

[14] B,V. pp. 392-94 ; Shukla, p. 352-53.

composed about nine works,[15] most famous among which is *Mehraj Charitra*, a biography of Swami Pran Nath.

Chhatrasal is also said to have invited Akshar Ananya, who enjoyed the patronage of Prithvi Singh (of Sehunda), a son of Dalpat Rai Bundela of Datia. But Ananya declined the invitation. There was also an exchange of letters between the two, which were written in verse. Ananya posed certain questions, which were answered by Chhatrasal. Ananya was a poet of great merit, and his philosophic and spiritual views exercised much influence over contemporary thought.[16]

The other poets of lesser merit in the court of Chhatrasal were Vijayabhinandan[17], Hari Chand[18], Gulal Singh Bakhshi[19] Keshvraj[20], Himmat Singh Kayastha[21] and Pratap Shah Bandijan.[22] Pancham Singh[23] and Kunwar Medni Mallju[24], who were the nephew and grandson of Chhatrasal respectively, were also poets of some repute. Another contemporary poet of Chhatrasal was Hansraj Kayastha of Rath.[25] All these poets, great and small, were attracted alike to the court of Chhatrasal, who treated them according to their merit and extended his patronage to all.

15 These works are :
1) Sanesh Sagar, 2) Sri Krishnaju ki Pati, 3) Sri Jugal Swarup Virah Patrika, 4) Phag Tarangini, 5) Churharin leela, 6) Mahraj Charitra, 7) Virah Vilas, 8) Rai Chandrika, 9) Barahmasa. B.V., p. 392 ; Shukla, p. 353.

16 For details about Akshar Ananya and his works see, B.V., pp. 325-26 and 330-33; Gore, pp. 226-29; Chhatrasal Gr., pp. 71-73; Shukla, p. 91. According to Shukla, Ananya went to Panna in response to the invitation of Chhatrasal but it is not confirmed by facts and tradition.

17 B.V., p. 419.

18 Ibid., p. 497.

19 Ibid., p. 499.

20 Ibid., Works : 1) Jaimuni ki katha bhasa.

21 Ibid., p. 501. Work : Daftarnama.

22 Shiv Singh Saroj, p. 445.

23 B.V., p. 410.

24 Ibid., p. 409. Work : Sri Krishna Prakash.

25 B.V., p. 502. Work : Mahabharat Bhasa.

Appendix 3

Chhatrasal Honours the poet Bhushan

According to the traditional account, which though exaggerated, may be taken as true in the substance, Chhatrasal invited Bhushan to Panna. When the poet and his entourage led by his grandson approached the Bundela capital, Chhatrasal came out with his retinue to receive him. The grandson of Bhushan was on horseback, followed by the palanquin of the poet. When the two parties drew nigh, Chhatrasal dismounted from his elephant and got the grandson of Bhushan seated on it. Then he sprang a surprise on the poet and those assembled there, by putting his own shoulder to the beam of the palanquin of the poet. Never was a greater honour done to a poet by a sovereign; Bhushan overwhelmed with emotions at once jumped out of the palanquin and immortalised the occasion by the following verse which he recited at the spot :

नाती को हाथी दियौ, जा पै दुरकत राल ।
साहू के जस कलस पै, झण बांधी छत्रसाल ।।
राजत अखंड तेज छाजत सुजस बड़ो,
गाजत गयंद दिग्गजन हिय साल को ।।
जाहि के प्रताप सों मलीन आफताब होत ।
ताप तजि दुगण करत बहु ख्याल को ।।
साज सजि गज तुरी पैदरि कतार दीन्हें,
भूषन भनत ऐसी दीन प्रतिपाल को ?
और राव राजा एक मन में न ल्याऊँ अब,
साहू को सराहौं या सराहौं छत्रसाल को ।।

("The elephant with royal trappings is conferred on my grandson. On the Kalash of fame and celebrity of Shahu, Chhatrasal hoisted the Dhwaj. His splendour is immeasurable

and his widespread fame great. The trumpets of his war elephants send a tremor through the hearts of the Diggaj. The splendour of the sun suffers a discount when compared with his. The evil-mongers dare not incite trouble. He had bestowed elephants, horses and divisions of infantry, accompanied with their complete equipment. Bhushan queries, who else is there so liberal : Shall I praise Shahu or commend the merits of Chhatrasal.")

Chhatrasal also once put his shoulder to the palanquin of Swami Pran Nath, a fact which lends support to the correctness of the incident narrated above. (Britant Muktavali, p. 350 verse 30,31; Lal Das Bitak, p. 493, and Navarang Bitak, p. 174 Prakaran 17.)

Appendix 4

Historicity of *Chhatra Prakash*

The composition of Chhatra Prakash was undertaken by poet Lal at the instance of Chhatrasal.[1] This work beginning with the genealogy of Bundelas, describes their exploits in brief and treats in detail the careers of Champat Rai and his son Chhatrasal. But it abruptly comes to a close, after having described the participation of Chhatrasal in the siege of Lohagarh, which took place in December 1710 A.D., and therefore it is obvious that *Chhatra Prakash* does not provide the complete account of the life and work of Chhatrasal Bundela, who died about twenty-one years later (4 December 1731). The work remained incomplete probably because the poet died early.[2]

The historicity of *Chhatra Prakash* may be judged by the extent to which the events narrated in it, receive support from the contemporary Muhammadan historiographers, court

1 Grant of Chhatrasal to poet Lal dated Ashwin Sudi 13, Samvat 1769 (1 October 1712).
The following verse of *Chhatra Prakash* also supports this statement:

धनि चंपत कै औतरी, पंचम श्री छत्रसाल ।
जिनकी आज्ञा सीस धरि, कही कहानी लाल ॥1॥

Chhatra Prakash, p. 66.

2 I have been told by Krishna Kavi, a court poet of Panna (who has also supplied me with the copy of the grant of Chhatrasal to Poet Lal), that the poet died in Samvat 1771 (1714 A.D.). Here it may be noted that Lal undertook the composition of *Chhatra Prakash* sometime in 1712 A.D. as is evidenced by the grant which is dated 1 October 1712. Krishna Kavi received the copy of this grant to Lal and the information about his death from Raja Ram Brahma Bhatta, a descendent of Lal, who lives at the village Marhi near Amanganj (21 miles southwest of Panna).

Akhbarats and the original letters of Chhatrasal. To begin with, the following are the important events, which are described by the poet of *Chhatra Prakash* and are supported by Mughal chroniclers and Akhbarats.

1. The rebellion of Jujhar Singh Bundela and its suppression in the early reign of Shahjahan. (Ch.P., p.28).
2. Bahadur Khan and Abudullah Khan sent against Champat Rai. (Ch.P., p. 32).
3. The territories of Orchha conferred on Pahar Singh, the brother of Jujhar Singh. Champat Rai made peace with him. (Ch.P., p. 34).
4. Participation of Champat Rai in the third siege of Qandahar. (Ch.P., p. 37).
5. Reference to the four sons of Shah Jahan and his excessive love for Dara. The war of succession and the alliance of Aurangzib and Murad. March of Shuja from the east. (Ch.P., pp. 42-43).
6. Champat Rai assisted Aurangzib in war against Dara, by enabling his forces to cross the Chambal and actively participating in the battle of Samurgarh. (Ch. P., p. 44-46).
7. Subha Karan of Datia and Debi Singh Bundela sent against Champat Rai, (Ch. P., p. 50 and 52).
8. Death of Champat Rai at Sahra. (Ch.P., pp. 63-65).
9. Service of Chhatrasal under Jai Singh. (Ch.P. pp. 71-72).
10. Meeting of Chhatrasal with Shivaji. (Ch.P., p. 79-80).
11. Reference to the temple destruction policy of Aurangzib. (Ch.P., pp. 81-82).
12. War between Rathors under Durgadas and the Mughals. Prince Akbar was sent against them, but he deserted to the Rajputs and later on was forced to fly for safety to the Deccan accompanied by Durgadas. (Ch.P., p. 108).
13. Reference to the succession of Bahadur Shah after the death of Aurangzib and the participation of Chhatrasal in the siege of Lohagarh, after reconciliation. (Ch.P., pp. 161-62).

Then by an intensive study of the Akhbarats of Aurangzib's reign, it has been found that most of the Mughal *Faujdars* and Commanders (Randullah or Ruhullah Khan, Munawar Khan, Tahawwar Khan, Murad Khan, Sayyid Latif, Sher Afgan, Sadruddin, Shah Quli, etc.), who have been mentioned in *Chhatra Prakash* and the letters of Chhatrasal which deal with his early struggles, were really posted in Bundelkhand sometime or other.[3]

The events, beginning from the meeting of Chhatrasal with Shivaji down to his participation in the siege of Lohagarh (December 1710) as described by poet Lal, are supported by the letters of Chhatrasal written to his son, Jagat Raj. This concurrence is easily explained, since we know that Chhatrasal ordered the composition of the work, he must have related these events to the poet, who weaved them into the texture of his narration, and hence despite some very minor variations, which occur seldom, the description of the events in *Chhatra Prakash* on the whole corresponds with that of the letters.

Thus, the great historical value of *Chhatra Prakash*, as an original source of information, can hardly be questioned, and though more often than not the poet has indulged in highly exaggerated and eulogistic accounts about his patron, which is quite natural; being a court poet, he has never seriously deviated from the path of truth.[4]

[3] Cf. Chapter III, "Early Struggles of Chhatrasal".

[4] Lal even mentions a defeat of Chhatrasal at the hands of Sher Afgan. *Chhatra Prakash*, p. 147.

CHAPTER IX

FAMILY LIFE AND CHILDREN OF CHHATRASAL

I

His Wives

Chhatrasal in his family life was a very considerate, if not, an ideal husband,[1] a loving father and an affectionate brother. There is no definite reference available as to the number of his wives. Poet Lal mentions only three marriages of Chhatrasal,[2] while Shyam Lal ascribes nineteen wives to him.[3] He is said to have taken the woman of backward classes as well as some Mohammadan concubines into his seraglio.[4] However it seems more or less certain that he had a large numbers of wives. He adopted marriages perhaps as a matter of policy, thereby

[1] Making due allowance to the fact that plurality of wives was a common feature in that age, the large number of wives, which Chhatrasal had, must have made it impossible for him to bestow his affections equally on all of them.

[2] Ch. pp. 70, 95 and 109.
The First marriage was performed with a Panwar Princess named Dev Kunwar) (p. 70), whom Lal calls the 'Pat-Rani' (senior-most Rani). Ch. P., p. 78.
The second marriage was celebrated with a Dhandhera Princess, while the third was solemnized at Sabar. (Ch. P. pp. 95, 109).

[3] Shyam Lal, II, pp. 61-62.

[4] One concubine was said to be a shepherdess and her son, Mohan Singh, was given Srinagar (10 miles south west of Mahoba) as *jagir*. He had two sons named Shamsher Khan and Khan Jahan, and a daughter from another Muslim concubine, as well. The daughter was probably the famous Mastani.
(Nag. Prach. Patrika, Vol. IX, pp. 182-83; Shyam Lal, II, pp. 62 and 64).

hoping to secure the assistance of the various chieftains of Bundelkhand and thus lessen the chances of their opposition by means of these matrimonial alliances.[5]

Among the various wives of Chhatrasal, Dev Kunwar, the senior-most Rani, was the most beloved of her husband. When Chhatrasal escaped from the Mughal camp in order to seek service under Shivaji, Dev Kunwar, then only in her teens, accompanied him on this perilous journey to the Deccan and thus proved herself worthy of the love of her husband.[6] Chhatrasal requited her love in full measure. After her death which probably occurred quite early when her son, Hirde Sah, was just an infant, he lavished his affections on the latter and made him the heir-apparent.[7] The mother of Jagat Raj was next in seniority. She died about the middle of March 1730 at Jaitpur. Chhatrasal does not seem to have been much attached to her. He did not even attend her funeral, but merely sent a letter of condolence to Jagat Raj and a sum of rupees one lakh with instructions to spend it for the good of the departed soul.[8] No references whatsoever are available about

[5] Chhatrasal is said to have generally taken the daughter of a humbled chieftain as his wife. The continuance of this practice is supported by the fact that when Hirde Sah overran Rewa, he brought a virgin (कुंवारी डोला) of the ruling family of Rewa. He also built a gate, known as Bundela Gate, at Rewa, to commemorate his victory. (P. 33: Chhatrasal to Jag., 10 December 1726; Shyam Lal, II, p. 62.

[6] Ch. P., p. 78. When Chhatrasal met Shivaji, he was about 18 years old. Dev Kunwar must have been younger by at least a couple of years.

[7] The following verse, which is said to have been written by Chhatrasal to Hirde Sah, when the latter had led the expedition into Baghelkhand and was unwilling to come to Jaitpur on the eve of the invasion of Bangash, lends support to the view that Dev Kunwar had died earlier :

बारे तें पालो हतो, फोहन दूध पिलाय।
जगत अकेलो लड़त है, जौ दुख सहो न जाय॥

(I nursed you in infancy by means of cotton soaked in milk. Jagat is fighting all alone. It is intolerable.)

[8] P.R. (Chhatrasal to Jag., 23 March 1730).
The reason for this indifference of Chhatrasal towards the mother of Jagat Raj was most probably her quarelsome nature, which created discord between Jagat Raj and Hirde Sah over the succession to the Gaddi of Panna.

the other wives of Chhatrasal, who must have led an insignificant life and died in obscurity.

II

His sons

Chhatrasal had larg number of sons, from his duly married wives and concubines.[9] It is wrongly supposed that Hirde Sah, Jagat Raj, Padam Singh and Bhartichand were born of the same mother and that Hirde Sah was the eldest as he succeeded to the senior seat of Panna.[10] All the four were step-brothers.[11] Padam Singh, who is placed third was really the eldest,[12] while even Jagat Raj was elder to Hirde Sah by a few months.[13] But the claims of Padam Singh and Jagat Raj to the Gaddi of Panna were turned down by Chhatrasal on the grounds that they were the sons of junior Ranis, while Hirde Sah was born

[9] According to Shyama Lal Chhatrasal had 68 sons in all, of whom 54 were from his wives and 14 from concubines. Shyam Lal, II, pp. 62, and 64; Gore, p. 231.
But Kunwar Kanhaiyaju fixes the number of the sons of Chhatrasal at 64, of whom only 52 were born of his wives and concubines. The other 12 were the adopted sons. See Nag. Prach. Patrika, vol. IX, pp. 182-83. Pogson considers the number 52 as fictitious and believes that Chhatrasal had only 13 sons. However, they should be 17 according to his own statement, which reads as follow :

> He had thirteen sons ; four by his first wife, namely Hirdee Sah, Jugat Raj, Pudum Singh, and Bharutee Chund : and 13, by other wives and concubines. Pogon, p. 105.

Tradition, supports the view that Chhatrasal had 52 sons. M.U., II (p. 512) also ascribes many sons to Chhatrasal. In absence of any reliable authority, it is difficult to fix the actual number of the sons of Chhatrasal, but it may be safely presumed that he had quite a large number of them.

[10] Pogson, 105. In the lists of sons given by Gorelal and Pogson, Hirde Sah is placed first, Jagat Raj second, Padam Singh third and Bharti Chand fourth. Pogson, p. 105 ; Gore, p. 231.

[11] P.R. 8 (Chhatrasal to Jag., 29 April 1714).
Ibid., 70 (Chhatrasal to Jag. 12 March 1731).

[12] Ibid., 8 (Chhatrasal to Jag., 29 April 1714).

[13] Ibid., 70 (Chhatrasal to Jag., 12 March 1731).

of the senior-most.[14] These claims of the seniority of Hirde Sah were not acceptable to the mother of Jagat Raj, who prompted her son to vigourously plead his own claim to seniority over Hirde Sah, as he (Jagat Raj) was the elder of the two. She thus created bitterness between the two brothers as well as between Chhatrasal and Jagat Raj.[15] But Chhatrasal refused to change his view and more than once severely rebuked the mother and the son for their hostility towards Hirde Sah.[16]

Chhatrasal, however, cannot be wholly absolved from the blame of being partial towards Hirde Sah. If Hirde Sah was the hier-apparent and the rightful claimant to the Gaddi of Panna, by virtue of being the son of the eldest Rani, was it also justifiable to allot him secretly a sum of rupees nine crores, without it being shared by Jagat Raj, specially when he (Chhatrasal) himself had laid down in the terms of partition that everything (viz. the territories, the armies and the treasures) should be divided between Hirde Sah and Jagat Raj at the ratio of one and one quarter and three quarters respectively.[17] Chhatrasal went to the extent of even denying that there was any such extra sum of nine crores, when Jagat Raj made enquiries about it.[18] In this underhand transaction Chhatrasal seems to have been influenced by the consideration of the greater responsibility for defending his possessions, that would naturally devolve upon Hirde Sah after his death.[19] Then again he was also

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid., 7 (Chhatrasal to Hirde Sah, 15 April 1714). Ibid., 8 (Chhatrasal to Jag., 29 April 1714). Ibid., 13 (Chhatrasal to Jag., 15 November 1719). Ibid., 50 (Chhatrasal S. to Jag. 19 May 1730).

[16] R.R., 25 (Chhatrasal to Jag. 16 August 1726). Ibid., 26 (Chhatrasal to Jag., 28 August 1726). Ibid., 29 (Chhatrasal to Jag., 7 September, 1726). Ibid 70 (Chhatrasal S. to Jag. 12 March 1731).

[17] Ibid., 49 (Chhatrasal to Officers, 11 May 1730). Ibid., 51 (Chhatrasal to Jag., 20 May 1730). Ibid., 52 (Chhatrasal to Jag., 28 May 1730). Ibid., 62 (Chhatrasal to Officers, 11 November 1730). Ibid., 87 (Chhatrasal to Hirde Sah 2 December 1731).

[18] Ibid., 87 (Chhatrasal to Hirde Sah, 2 December 1731). Ibid., 85 (Chhatrasal to Jag., 9 October 1731).

[19] P.R. 87 (Chhatrasal to Hirde Sah, 2 December 1731).
In the closing lines of the letter Chhatrasal observes that the sum of rupees nine crores would prove helpful when after his death,the Mughals or others, who were on inimical terms with him, would invade his terri-

convinced of the incomptence as well as the jealous and unenterprising nature of Jagat Raj.[20]

Except, in the matter of succession to the major part of the kingdom including Panna, Chhatrasal apparently made no distinction between his different sons, and lavished his affections on them almost equitably. In one of his letters to Jagat Raj he declared his equal regard for all the sons.[21] He was even considerate to the wishes of Jagat Raj, who accused him of partiality towards Hirde Sah,[22] and underwent the inconvenience of narrating to him his early career through letters at the age of eighty.[23] Padam Singh was not loved the less. Chhatrasal once in 1720 undertook the journey of about 50 miles from Moheva to Panna to congratulate him for his praisworthy service in the Mughal army against the Marathas.[24]

Chhatrasal strongly desired that his sons should emulate his achievements and preserve the kingdom after his death. To this end, he often recounted to them his early heroic struggles.[25] He also divided his territories between his sons within his own life time, to be managed by the latter, in order to enable them to acquire the necessary knowledge about the portions, which they were to govern after his death.[26] He had visualized the possibility of an internecine struggle between his sons after his death and to prevent it, he made fully known his intentions with regard to the partition to them all during his own life-time. Towards the closing months of his life, Chhatrasal summoned his four sons, viz. Hirde Sah, Jagat Raj, Padam Singh and Bhartichand to Mau[27], in order to impress

tories. In another letter (P.R. 88) he instructs Hirde Sah to use this amount only in case of serious emergency.

20 P.R. 81 (Chhatrasal to Jag., 13 September 1731).
P.R. 50 (Chhatrasal to Jag., 19 May 1730).

21 Ibid.

22 P.R. 26 (Chhatrasal to Jag. 28 August 1726).

23 P.R. 100 (Chhatrasal to Jag. written at the age of eighty).

24 P.R. 9 (Chhatrasal to Padam Singh 23 March 1719 ? (1720).

25 P.R. 200 (Chhatrasal to Jag. written at the age of eighty).

26 P.R. 1 (Padam Singh to Chhatrasal, 24 September 1688).
P.R. 3 (Bhartichand to Chhatrasal, 27 May 1699).
P.R. 85 (Chhatrasal to Jag., 9 October 1731).

27 Mau—8 miles north of Chhatarpur and four miles south of Nowgong.

upon them the necessity of living amicably for the collective security of their respective possessions.[28] He seems to have succeeded in this a good deal, as no bitterness whatsoever is traceable between his sons after his death. Even Jagat Raj and Hirde Sah were reconciled to each other and Chhatrasal had at least the satisfation of leaving behind fair prospects of peace among his sons under the shadow of the *Hindupad Padshahi* of Maharashtra over the ruins of the hated Muslim rule.[29]

His Brothers

Towards his brother and other relatives Chhatrasal entertained great love and respect. He was a man of strong family loyalty, and though his brothers have found reference only in one of his available letters,[30] the contemporary Persian Akhbarats and *Chhatra Prakash* prove conclusively that he received the unstinted support from them and his other relations in his enterprise against the Mughals. According to the author of *Chhatra Prakash* no less than 70 chieftains of Bundelkhand related to Chhatrasal had joined his standards against the Mughals.[31] Among his brothers, Angad and Ratan Shah, were with him in his early struggles and the repeated reference to the 'sons of Champat' in contemporary Akhbarats and Persian texts confirm the close cooperation between all the brothers.[32] Chhatrasal's achievements however eclipsed

28 P.R. 86 (Chhatrasal to Jag. 19 November 1731).
P.R. 97 (Chhatrasal to Hirde Sah 2 December 1731).

29 The following letters written by Jagat Raj to Hirde Sah after the death of Chhatrasal bear testimony to this reconciliation.
P.R. 89 (Jag. to Hirde Sah, 30 December 1731).
Ibid., 97 (Jag. to Hirde Sah, 7 September 1738).
Ibid., 98 (Jag. to Hirde Sah, 5 November 1738).

30 P.R. 61 (Chhatrasal to Jag., 20 October 1730).

31 Ch. P. pp. 101-3.

32 References to the 'sons of Champat' are only available in the Akhbarats and Persian chronicles which make casual references to the early struggles of Chhatrasal (1678-1685), no such mention is to be found in later Akhbarats. Probably some of them had died sometime towards the last decade of the 17th century. Here it may be well to note, that

those of his brothers and the latter were then naturally relegated to oblivion.[33]

Sarvahan, the eldest brother of Chhatrasal, was killed in an action near *Khailhar* (six miles south of Jhansi) before Chhatrasal was even born. (Ch. P., pp. 20-22). No details are available about Gopal, the fourth brother of Chhatrasal.

33 The poet of Ch. P. thus expresses this idea:

जदपि नदी पानिप भरी, अपने अपने ढांउ।
पै गंगा में मिलत ही, गंगा ही को नांउ॥

("The different rivers lose their identity when they unite with the Ganges and acquire the appelation of the sacred river." Similarly the brothers of Chhatrasal derived their glory from his achievements.) (Ch. P., p. 18).

CHAPTER X

ADMINISTRATION OF CHHATRASAL

I

The Extent of his Kingdom

If the places, which were assigned to Peshwa Bajirao I and others after the death of Chhatrasal,[1] be taken as the limits of his kingdom known as 'Dangaiya Rajya[2]', then it included roughly the modern districts of Jhansi, Hamirpur, Jalaun and Banda of Uttar Pradesh, in addition to the territories of Saugor and Sironj in the south. The states of Ajaigarh, Charkharee, Panna, Bijawar, Shahgarh, Chhatarpur, Sarila, Alipur, etc. which have been merged in the province of Madhya Pradesh, formed an integral part of the kingdom of Chhatrasal. In short its northern limit was set by Kalpi, and the southern one was marked by Sironj and Saugor. On the west boundaries ran

1 According to Pogson the Peshwa received Kalpi, Hatta, Saugor, Jhansi, Sironj, Konch, Garhakota and Hirde Nagar. Hirde Sah got Panna, Kalinjar, Mau, Erach, Dhamoni, etc. and Jagat Raj received Jaitpur, Ajaigarh, Charkhari, Bhuragarh and Banda, etc. Pogson, pp. 105-7 ; N.H.M., II, p. 108.
The *jagirs* of Jigni and Kutro or Kotra were conferred on Padam Singh and Bhartichand respectively by Chhatrasal in his own life-time. Later on Bhartichand also received Jaso as his share in the kingdom of his father. P.R. 1, 3; cf. also Gore, p. 390; Bundelkhand Gaz. pp. 436-44 ; Panna, Gaz. p. 41.)

2 'Dangaiya' means highland covered with forests. This word has been derived from the word 'Dang' which means a dense forest. Dangaiya conveys the sense of a hilly region, covered with dense forests, and it truly describes the physical features of the eastern part of Bundelkhand, in which Chhatrasal gained ascendancy.

along the frontiers of Orcha, Datia and Gwalior,[3] and towards the east they included Jaso and Birsinghpur[4] on the borders of Baghelkhand.

However the sphere of loot of Chhatrasal extend far beyond. He led his plundering expeditions into Halwa and levied *Chauth* in Bhilsa. Narwar and Chanderi were repeatedly plundered. The territories of Baghelkhand, including Maihar and Rewah were actually overrun and annexed by Hirde Sah on the eve of the invasion of Bangash (1726).[5] The sanctity of the territories of Orchha was often violated, whenever its rulers gave offence to Chhatrasal by joining the imperialsts against him though Orchha itself was never attacked by him due to its prestige of being the seat of the eldest branch of the Bundela ruling family. His armies penetrated as far as Gwalior. Chhatrasal followed the example of Shivaji and led occasional plundering expeditions into the neighbouring territories held by the imperial officers in order to replenish his resources and made his wars pay. These recurring invasions could only be prevented by the regular payment of the *chauth*[6], and the tribute, which was very similar to the system introduced by the Marathas outside the Swarajya, or home territories.

II

General Administration

This kingdom of Chhatrasal was divided into forty *parganas*.[7] But it may be noted that the size of these *paraganas* did

[3] The important places which were on this side of the border were Orehha, Tikamgarh, Jatara, Jiron, Datia, etc.

[4] Birsinghpur is about 10 miles east of Jaitwar station on Itarsi Jubbalpur section of Central Railway.

[5] P.R. 29-34. These are the letters of Chhatrasal to his son, Jagat Raj, written between September and December 1726. The territories of Rewa were restored to its Baghela ruler when Hirde Sah returned to Jaitpur on the invasion of Bangash.

[6] 'Chauth', as Chhatrasal explains in one of his letters, was one fourth of the estimated revenue of the territories invaded. P.R. 74 Chhatrasal to Jag. 13 June 1731).

[7] P.R, 49.

not correspond with the *Mahals* of the Mughals. They were smaller divisions and were mostly the results of the sub-division of a *Mughal* Mahal.[8] Very little is known about the administration of these *parganas*. The unsettled conditions must have rendered difficult, if not impossible, the building up of an efficient administrative machinery. The kingdom of Chhatrasal, like that of Marathas, depended for its stability on the continuance of warfare, which allowed no respite to give thought to the problems of administration. Besides, Chhatrasal was no administrative genius like his great contemporary Chhatrapati Shivaji, and therefore it may be surmised that he must have allowed the continuance of the age-old system of a sort of volient occupation that was in vogue.

It was essentially feudal in character. The territories of the kingdom were divided into two classes. Like the crown-lands of the Mughals, some were directly managed by the *Darbar* and the others were given in jagirs to *Jagirdars*, *Maimardars*[9] and *Padarkhis*. *Jagirdars* and *Maimardars* provided a definite quota of troops and accompained the chief on military campaigns. The *jagirdars* were generally the relations of the ruler, while the *Maimardars* were the persons who held the lands in lieu of service. *Maimardars* were treated as inferior *Jagirdars* and also paid a nominal rent for their holdings. *Padarkhis* were rent-free grantees and had no feudal obligations. They were mostly Brahmins. *Padarkhis* attended the court periodically or presented themselves at the religious ceremonies and festive occasions of the state. Grants of religious nature were also made for the maintenance of the temples.[10]

[8] The parganas of Kotra, Sayyid nagar, Mau, Mahoni, etc. which are mentioned in early records, are probably all Bundela formations. Jalaun Gaz., p. 128.

[9] References to *Jagirdars* and *Maimardars* occur in letters of Chhatrasal. (P.R. 39, 62, 82).

[10] Panna Gaz., pp. 29-30 and 84-97.
This information and that which follows about the revenue system of Panna state, prior to the settlement effected by the British Government, may fairly be taken as correct, with regard to the period of Chhatrasal as well. It is highly probable that the revenue administration of the Bundela states, maintained its original character, since the time when it

There were two kinds of leases, lump rate leases and appraisement leases, which were known as '*Maniyawan*'[11] and '*Kankuti*'[12] respectively. In the former the lump sum was fixed either on the basis of Mughal calculations or on the value of the seed owned. In the case of the latter (i.e appraisement or *Kankuti* leases) the standing crops were valued by the *Patwaris* and the headmen. One fourth of the produce was left out of assessment as the cost incurred by the farmer and 1/4 or 1/6 of the remainder was taken as the state dues.[13] The *Chaudharis* and *Qanungos* were the other revenue officers posted in the *parganas*. The specific reference to them in the *Sanads* (1807 and 1811 A.D.) granted to Raja Kishore Singh of Panna (1798-1834) fairly indicate their importance as men on the spot, who were chiefly responsible for the local revenue and general administration.[14]

A definite mention of the appointment of a *Musaddi* (or *Mutasaddi*) in each *Pargana* is made by Chhatrasal in a communication addressed to the *Faujdar* of Panna, which also leads to the inference that the *Faujdar* was another notable officer posted in a *pargana*.[15] *Matasaddi* dealt with financial transactions and kept accounts of income and expenditure. The *Faujdar* performed the military duties and was responsible for the maintenance of peace and order. His duties must have been similar to those of *Shiqdar*[16] under Sher Shah and the *Faujdar* of the Mughals.[17]

In the administrative departments the notable officers who have found mention were the *Kitabis*[18], *Butaytis*[19], *Khas Kalams*[20], *Bakhshi*[21] *and Dafdaris*.[22] Generally, the Kayasths, Brahmins and Thakurs were appointed to these posts as they were considered to be more conversant with the official business.[23] Chhatrasal himself made appointments and often asked his sons to recommend names for selection.[24] There was also a regular runner post system (*Dak Chauki*) and the news was speedily transmitted from one place to another by *Harkaras* (messengers) and *Sandias* (camel riders).[25]

was first inaugurated by the rulers during the Mughal period till the nineteenth century in which it was adjusted to suit the interests of the new masters.

11 'Maniyawan' is derived from 'Mani'. A Mani of wheat weighed bout 7 maunds or 560 lbs.

12 'Kankuti' from Khanri, which weighed about 1 maund and 10 seers or 100 lbs.

13 Panna Gaz., pp. 29.

14 Panna Gaz., pp. 41-43. These Sanads begin with the words "Be it known to the Chowdaries Canoongoes etc. . . ."

15 P.R. 49.

16 Sher Shah (*Qanungo*), p. 353.

17 *Mughal Administration*, (Sarkar) pp. 54-57.

18 Kitabi is keeper of records.

19 Butayti is the word seems to be derived from "Bayutat" (Persian), "who was in some respects an understudy of Khan Saman", is described as the "Diwan of expenditure." *Mughal adminastration*, pp. 41, 44, 45.

20 Khas Kalams were the private secretaries and the keeper of seals. Strangely enough the seals of Chhatrasal bore the word 'नहीं' (No) which conveyed just its opposite sense meaning 'सही' (Confirmed). His motto placed at the top of his letters also carried a threat, and it ran as following :

जान है सो मान है, ना मान है सो जान है।

(Who knows the sanction, will carry out the order, he who does not, will be made to comprehend it).

21 Bakhshi supervised over the accounts.

22 Dafdaris or Daftaris—Recorders attached to different departments.

23 P.R. 81.

24 Ibid.

25 P.R. 35, 48 and 68. A Harkara who brought the news from within 40 miles in a day received as much as Rs. 25 per day.

26 P.R. 32 and 39.
In another letter (P.R. 62) Chhatrasal mentioned that his kingdom yielded a revenue of one crore and fifty-three lacs. Taking into consideration all the three letters (32, 39 and 62), the total revenue may be fixed near about one and half crores.

III

Revenue and Treasures

The total revenue of the kingdom of Chhatrasal amounted to about one and half crores of rupees, which does not seem to be exaggerated.[26] Here it may be worthy to note that the territories received by Hirde Sah yielded a revenue of Rs. 38,46,123, as. 13, p. 10, and those of Jagat Raj Rs. 30,76,953, as. 1, p. 1.

The portion of the Peshwa was also valued at Rs. 30,76,953, as. 1, p. 1, like that of Jagat Raj.[27] Thus, the total revenues of the territories, which were divided among Hirde Sah, Jagat Raj and Baji Rao amounted to Rs. 1,00,00,030. The territories worth about fifty lacs were not taken into consideration in this division, probably because Chhatrasal wanted to deceive Peshwa that his kingdom yielded only a revenue of about rupees one crore and that he had already distributed the territories of 25 to 35 lacs among the *Jagirdars* and *Maimardars*.[28]

Then, *jagirs* of three and half lacs and two lacs were conferred on Padam Singh and Bhartichand respectively, while the lands yielding revenues about twenty three lacs were distributed among the *Jagirdars*, *Maimardars* and relatives by Chhatrasal within his own life-time.[29] He also bestowed two *parganas* of six lacs on Rani Jait Kunwar, the wife of Jagat Raj.[30] Thus, the aggregate revenue of the lands which are known to have been assigned amounts to about one crore and thirty five lacs. Many other and smaller grants not referred to in the available records, would also have been made, which, being taken into consideration lead to the safe assumption that the revenues of the kingdom of Chhatrasal must have amounted to one and half crores.

Besides the revenue, diamond mines of Panna, *Chauth* and plunder were the additional major sources of state income. Here it may not be out of place to make a mention of the great

27 Pogson, pp. 105-7.
This division of the kingdom of Chhatrasal, if taken to be nearly accurate, was apparently not effected according to the instructions of Chhatrasal. (cf. P.R. 62). He had directed his officials that Hirde Sah should get 1¼ and Jagat Raj ¾ of his kingdom. Then both should hand over 1/3 of their respective shares to the Peshwa. Had these instructions been carried out strictly then Jagat Raj should have received less. The share of the Peshwa would not also have been equal to that of Jagat Raj, but a little more.

28 P.R. 39. According to this letter, the revenue of the kingdom actually amounted to one and half crores. According to another letter (P.R. 62) only the territories worth about twenty-three lacs were distributed among the *Jagirdars* and *Maimardars*.

29 P.R. 1, 3 and 62.

30 P.R. 22.

wealth which Chhatrasal left to his successors. The treasuries of Panna, Mahewa and Jaitpur together consisted a sum of Rupees five crores.[31] Another sum of Rupees nine crores and some gold *Mohurs* were privately given to Hirde Sah.[32] Besides this cash of fourteen crores of rupees Chhatrasal had amassed quite a large fortune in gold and silver jewellery.

IV

The Army

The regular army of Chhatrasal consisted of forty-one or forty-two thousand infantry, twelve thousand cavalry and three hundred big and small pieces of artillery. This army was distributed among the *pargana* according to their size. In every *pargana*, there were posted two hundred to five hundred soldiers with officers and one or two small pieces of artillery. The salaries of the officers and soldiers were chargeable on the revenues of the *pargana* in which they were stationed.[33]

An army of seven thousand men with fifty pieces of artillery guarded the Bundela capital, Panna, and a similar force of three thousand with twenty or twenty five pieces of artillery was posted at Jaitpur. In addition to this, Chhatrasal had under his direct command an army of twenty thousand and hundred pieces of artillery.[34] Nothing is known about the manner of the distribution of the cavalry. The available information indicate only that the horses were supplied to the soldiers by the state.[35] But it is highly probable that the cavalry would also have been distributed among the parganas like the infantry and artillery. Besides this, there were the forces of *Jagirdar* and *Maimardars*, which could be summoned at a short notice. Camel troops and elephants were also

31 P.R. 49, 51.

32 P.R. 85, 87, 88.

33 P.R. 49.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

maintained.[36]

No specific rules for recruitment were followed and no particular clan or caste was preferred. All that was required was an inclination to fight under the standards of Chhatrasal and a proficiency in the use of weapons. Chhatrasal drew his recruits from all ranks, from the Bundelas aud other Rajput tribes, such as Sengers, Parihars, Panwars and Dhandheras, from Gonds and even from the mercantile caste. Backward and depressed classes of Hindu society, Mohammadans[37] and even the defeated armies of the Mughals were also not refused military service.[38]

Here it may be observed that the region which formed the kingdom of Chhatrasal had very little to offer or to attract the cultivator and its unsettled conditions were also not conducive to the growth of trade and commerce. Therefore, to most of the people, the prospects of sharing in the loot and plunder, which the levies af Chhatrasal carried on everywhere, were very alluring. They enrolled themselves in large numbers in the Bundela army and the hope of these additional gains must have led them to accept a smaller salary, which probably explains why Chhatrasal so easily succeeded in collecting a large army around him.

[36] In a communication to the court Muhammad Khan Bangash makes reference to these camel troops of Chhatrasal. "to fire at the camels of Chhatrasal." L.M. II, p. 235.

[37] For example the few following names of the commanders and solidiers other than Rajputs which occur in Ch. P. and letters of Chhatrasal may be mentioned.

Harekrishna Misra	Brahmin	P.R. 47, 49.
Mandhata Chaube	Brahmin	Ch. P. p. 89, 112, 132.
Dalsah Misra	Brahmin	
Lacche Rawat	Brahmin	
Ganga Ram Chauda	Vaisya	Ch. P. 126, 133.
Harjumalla Gahoi	Vaisya	
Pambal Dhimar (Fishman)	Backward	Ch.P. 89, 112, 126, 132.
Nandan Chhipi (Dyer) }	Scheduled	
Ram Mani Dauwa (Ahir) }	Castes	P. R. 76.
Foje Miyan.	Muslim	Ch. P. p. 89, 133.
Nahar Khan	Muslim	
Fatah Khan	Muslim	
Ali Khan	Muslim	
Isaf Khan	Muslim	

[38] P. R. 78.

Thus after a perusal of the available details of the administration of Chhatrasal, which are limited to a few letters and some cursory remarks about the Bundela administration in the British Gazeteers of Bundelkhand, it may be easily concluded that it had nothing to recommend by way of originality or efficiency. It was feudal in character and was pregnant with all its evils. Unlike Shivaji, Chhatrasal paid his officers not in cash, but by hereditary *jagirs*, so all the evils of *jagirdari* system were liable to creep in, no sooner the masterhand, that controlled them was removed. The division of the state into *Parganas* and the appointment of the *Faujdar* and *Mutasaddi* reminds one of the *Amil* and the *Shiqdar* of Sher Shah, while the system of *Chauth* and levying tribute was very similar to that introduced by the Marathas. In short, the administration of Chhatrasal was a workable combination of the Mughal and Maratha systems, with indigenous features, which made it acceptable to the people.

CHAPTER XI

CHARACTER, POLICY AND ACHIEVEMENTS

I

His End, 4 December 1731

The war with Bangash (January 1726 to August 1729) was in fact the last of the series of struggles, which Chhatrasal waged either to extend or to defend his kingdom, and with it also comes to a close his stormy career. He survived for two years the defeat of the Bangash. These years were mainly utilised by the lonesome warrior of eighty in relating the details of his early career of conquest in a series of letters addressed to his younger son Jagat Raj[1], and issuing instructions to his other sons and important officers about the partition of the Kingdom, after his death. His otherwise peacefull life was somewhat disturbed by the strained relations between his two sons, Hirde Sah and Jagat Raj.[2] It was with great difficulty that Chhatrasal suceeeded only towards the closing weeks of his life in bridging the gulf between the two, just after which he died on Saturday, the 4th December 1731 A.D., at the ripe old age of eighty-one

[1] Jagat Raj tried to humour the vanity of his old father, by requesting him to put down on paper, the account of his early struggles. He very apologetically submitted to his father, that he could not question him on that theme, as he felt overawed before him. Chhatrasal was greatly pleased with the humility of his son and asked him to arrange post to facilitate the quick despatch of these letters. P.R. 68, 100.
This explains why nearly all the letters which throw light on the early career of Chhatrasal were addressed to Jagat Raj.

[2] The main cause of this friction was the succession to the seat of Panna, which Jagat Raj wanted for himself.

years and seven months.[3]

II

His Estimate as a Soldier and General

Chhatrasal's achievements, no doubt facilitated by Emperor Aurangzib's other preoccupations, first in Rajputana and then in the Deccan, were nonetheless fitting tributes to his military genius, which though not of a very superior type like that of Shivaji, was still uncommon amongst his own countrymen.

Chhatrasal had the natural aptitude of the warriors of his race. He was gifted with a strong and healthy constitution which enabled him to live long.[4] He was an adept in the use of bow and arrow and was equally proficient in handling other weapons. He was dashing and courageous and was not lacking in resourcefulness. At the age of only sixteen years, he distinguished himself in the siege of Purander (1665 A.D.) and the invasion of Bijapur (1666) and thus secured the praise of Mirza Raja Jai Singh, who recommended him for a *Mansab* in the imperial army. During his early struggles, which lasted about thirty-seven years (1671-1707), Chhatrasal led most of his expeditions and rushed headlong into every battle as if fighting was in his very blood. Even at the age of sixty, he led the vanguard of the contingent of Munim Khan in the siege of Lohagarh (December 1710) and five years later accompanied Sawai Jai Singh in his compaigns against the Marathas and Afghans (1714-1716) in Malwa; and when he was nearing eighty he took the field in person against Bangash (1727-1729).

[3] Tarikh-i-Muhammadi Folio 709(b) (M.F. S.M). It gives the date 15 Jamadilakhar H. 1144 or Saturday 4 December 1731.
The date 14 December 1731 given by Sardesai (N.H.M. II. p. 108) and in L. M. II, p. 241 is new style. See Appendix 5.

[4] A fair idea of the stature of Chhatrasal may be had from the following measurements of his robe (Jama) Total length — 5′-8″ ; from shoulder to hips 2′-2½″ Sleeves 2′-9″ ; at wrists 1′-4″, chest 44″.
The robe came down up a little below the knees. Therefore taking into consideration all these things, it seems most likely that his height was well above six feet.

His undaunted spirit inspired confidence in his soldiers and prompted them to perform prodigies of valour.

Chhatrasal was not only a soldier of no mean repute, he was also a talented general with plenty of commonsense, without which it was impossible for him to contend successfully for such a prolonged period against the might of the imperial Mughals. He had learnt from Shivaji the technique of securing maximum possible results with a minimum of risk. He was conscious of his own limited resources in man and material. Therefore, he seldom risked an open battle and mostly adopted the guerilla mode of warfare, which was admirably suited to the genius of his soldiers and the physical features of the country in which he was operating. Like Shivaji he made his wars pay. He directed his plundering raids into the Mughal territories, levied *Chauth* and extorted ransom to augment his own resources. These expeditions were led only two or three times a month after which the soldiers were given a respite of ten to fifteen days, in order to refresh themselves.[5] Chhatrasal treated his soldiers well and considered their contenment to be the safest prop to rely upon.[6]

[5] P.R. 69.

[6] In the following couplets devoted to statecraft, Chhatrasal advises rulers,

चाहौ धन, धाम, भूमि, भूषन, भलाई भूरि,
सुजत सहरजुत रैयत को लालियौ।
तोड़ादार छोड़ादार बीरनि सों प्रीति करि,
साहस सों जीति जंग, खेत तें न चालियौ ॥
सालियो उदंडनि कें, दंडिन कौ दीजौ दंड,
करिकै घमंड घाव दीन पै न घालियौ।
बिन्ती छत्रसाल करै होय जो नरेस देस,
रै है न कलेस लेस, मेरो कह्यो पालियौ ॥1॥

(Chhatrasal Gr. p. 74 verse 1).

रैयत सब राजी रहै, ताजी रहै सिपाहि।
छत्रसाल तेहि राज कौ, बार न बांको जाति ॥22॥

(Chhatrasal Gr. p. 81-82 verse 22).

("If you desire, wealth, territory, a good name and the fame, then rule well over your people, bestow your favours on the warriors of destinction, fight courageously and never run away from the battlefield. Suppress the disaffected and punish the guilty. But in sheer pride do not inflict any injury on the destitute. Chhatrasal humbly advises the sovereigns to follow this counsel, which will guarantee peace to them. . . . If the people are kept satisfied and the soldiery refreshed, no harm whatsoever be done to such a state).

III

As an Administrator

Chhatrasal did not display any marked originality, in the organisation of his administrative system, which was actually a eombination of Mughal and Maratha systems with a few local adjustments.[7] He, however, never allowed his officials a free hand in the affairs of the kingdom. The latter were merely his deputies to whom power were delegated only to execute the commands of their sovereign. Chhatrasal viewed with serious disfavour the assumption of any discretionary powers by the State officers, which he believed would always act to the detriment of the ruler as well as of the people.[8]

His was a military rule purged of evils by his personal vigilance. The good of the people was his main concern and he considered their well being to be the strongest foundation of his rule. Chhatrasal was solicitous of the interests of the poor and thought it meritorious to help the needy.[9] His benevolent rule has lingered long in the grateful memory of the people, and his name is still held in high esteem throughout Bundel-

[7] cf. chapter Ten entitled "Administration of Chhatrasal."

[8] P.R. 88, wherein Chhatrasal advises his son to look personally into the affairs of the State and not to leave them to be managed entirely by the officers.

[9] According to Chhatrasal the rules of conduct for a ruler should be :

छत्रसाल अन पालिषी, अरहिं घालिषी दोय।
नहिं बिसारियौ, धारियौ, धरा धरन, कोई होय ।20॥
बालक लौ पालहिं प्रजा, प्रजापाल छत्रसाल।
ज्यों सिसुहित अनहिन सुहित, करत पिता प्रतिपाल ॥21॥

(Chhatrasal Gr. p. 81 verse 20, 21).

(Chhatrasal says, "one who is the lord of the land, should not give up the protection of the people and the suppression of the enemy. He should look after the welfare of his people as a father attends to the welfare of his sons.")

khand.[10]

IV

His Policy towards other Bundela States

Chhatrasal in his policy towards the other Bundela states, was solely guided by the noble ideas of Bundela unity and the dynastic considerations. He, therefore, scrupulously avoided any conflict with them as far as possible.[11] Most of the petty Bundela chieftains joined him against the Mughals, but the more prominent among them, such as the Rajahs of Orchha, Datia and Chanderi were hardened imperialists and kept themselves away from Chhatrasal. This aloofness would not have been so much detrimental to the cause of Chhatrasal, had it not been actuated by jealousy and positive hostility towards himself. The forces of these three states invariably and actively cooperated with the Mughals against him.[12] He too led retributive expeditions into their territories, less for loot and more for making better sense prevail with them by showing his

[10] In Bundelkhand people attach some sort of divinity to the name of Chhatrasal. They begin their day or business by reciting the following couplet :

"छत्रसाल महाबली, करियो भली भली" ।

('Chhatrasal, the great warrior, augur the day well').

[11] In a letter to the officers of Panna (P.R. 62), Chhatrasal while making reference to the unfair deeds of Orchha chiefs in the past remarks, "I had the requiste power to destroy them and annex their kingdom, but due to the dynastic considerations I did nothing."

[12] cf. Chapter Three "Early Struggles of Chhatrasal". The following facts are worthy of note in this connection :

(i) Forces of Orchha, Datia and Chanderi joined Ruhullah Khan against him. (Ch. P., p. 104).

(ii) Indramani of Orchha led expeditions against Chhatrasal S. (Ch. P., p. 117).

(iii) Jaswant Singh the successor of Indramani was also sent to punish the 'sons of Champat' (September 1678). (M.U. II, p. 294; M.A., p. 105).

fangs.[13] Chhatrasal never intended to extend the boundaries of his kingdom at the expense of his own kith and kin and abstained from utilising any such opportunity, even when it presented itself to him, to his own advantage. For example, Rajah Jasvant Singh of Orchha died in the 30th year of the reign of Aurangzib (12 July 1686-30 June 1687). His son, Bhagwant Singh, too, passed away only within a year and his grandmother, Amar Kunwar, adopted Udait Singh. Chhatrasal could have struck then, but he abstained. The affairs of the state probably continued to be in an unsettled state for some more years and Rani Amar Kunwar deemed it wise in 1696 A.D. to enter into a non-aggression pact with Chhatrasal and proposed terms of the same in a letter. As Chhatrasal had no hostile designs against Orchha, he seems to have readily accepted them.[14] Similarly, when Ram Chandra Deo, the son of Dalpat Rao of Datia, rebelled against his father and allied himself with Chhatrasal in order to seize the kingdom of his father,[15] Chhatrasal most probably did nothing to assist Ram Chandra in his designs, except perhaps providing shelter, and therefore the latter afterwards intrigued with Khairandesh Khan, the *Faujdar* of Itawa and Irij to bring about the downfall of his father, Dalpat Rai.[16]

Chhatrasal readily entered, when an opportunity appeared into pacts of non-aggression and mutual help, with the Rajahs of Orchha, Datia and Chanderi,[17] though he could not entirely

[13] Chhatrasal led expeditions against Orchha about the beginning of the last quarter of 17th century (Ch. P., p. 117. cf. Chapter Three "Early Struggles of Chhatrasal."
He also plundered Irij and Panwari held by the agent of the sons of Subh Karan Bundela of Datia (Akh. 17 November 1679).

[14] P.R. 2 (Amar Kunwar to Chhatrassal, 30 August 1696). M.U. II, p. 295.

[15] Bhimsen p. 201, 211.

[16] Ibid.

[17] P.R. 2 (Amar Kunwar to Chhatrasal, 30 August 1696).
P.R. 4 (Udot Singh to Chhatrasal, 7 January 1709).
P.R. 5 (Udot Singh and Wednesday 26 March 1712. Durjan Singh to Chhatrasal or Wednesday 2 April 1712, or Wednesday 9 April 1712).
P.R. 15 (Udot Singh of Orchha and Ram Chandra of Datia to Chhatrasal, 6 April 1721).

forget the offences given to him by the chiefs of Orchha. Therefore though apparently he maintained peaceful relations with them,[18] he was always watchful of their treacherous moves and warned his sons to be ever on their guard against them.[19]

To sum up, Chhatrasal's policy towards other Bundela states, was a policy of peaceful coexistence, whenever possible, with the object of uniting all the Bundelas against the Mughals. To achieve this end, he strove sincerely throughout his life, but unfortunately never succeeded to the extent he fondly desired.[20]

P.R. 16 (Udot Singh, Ram Chandra and Durjan Singh of Chanderi to Chhatrsal, 25 April 1721).
These agreements fixed the river Dhasan as the eastern boundary of Chhatrasal's kingdom, and also contained provisions about mutual assistance and the equal division of booty in joint operations against the local Zamindars. The Rajahs of Orchha, Datia and Chanderi entered into these agreements with Chhatrasal only because they viewed with serious alarm the growth of his power, which threatened their own and not due to any genuine desire for Bundela unity.

18 Chhatrasal sent his sons Hirde Sah and Jagat Raj to attend the marriage of the son of Udot Singh of Orchha. (P.R. 7, 8).

19 P.R. 39. 62, 63.
The rulers of Orchha gave offence by sending expeditions against Chhatrasal and his father, Champat Rai. Then Udot Singh also played a hoax over Chhatrasal after the siege of Lohagarh (December 1710), which the latter seriously took to his heart. According to Chhatrasal, Emperor Bahadur Shah desired to confer the title of Mahendra and some Jagirs on him, for his services in the siege of Lohagarh. Udot Singh frightened away Chhatrasal by the false information that the Emperor wanted to put him under arrest. Chhatrasal left the imperial camp and started in haste for his country the same night. Title of Mahendra was later confered on Udot Singh Chhatrasal makes reference to this incident in two of his letters, with a bitterness, which makes its occurrence somewhat possible. P.R. 41, 63.

20 Chhatrasal's meeting with Subh Karan and Sujan Singh, just before his return to Bundelkhand and his attempts to enlist their aid, despite their ignoble conduct towards Champat Rai, prove conclusively the veracity of this statement.
Ch. P. pp. 80-86. P.R. 60, 61.
Only towards 1721 A.D. the Bundelas cooperated with Chhatrasal against Diler Khan, the chela of Bangash. But this alliance was hurridly patched up under the pressure of Sawai Jai Singh and lasted for a very short time.
Cf. Chapter Five, "Bangash Bundela Wars".

V

Chhatrasal's Personal Creed and Religious Faith

Chhatrasal's own faith, as amply revealed by his verses in praise of Vedic Gods and his letters, was that of an average Hindu, the orthodoxy of which was relieved by his allegiance to the views of Pran Nath. His verses are dedicated to the praise of Krishna, Radhika, Ram Chandra, Hanuman and Ganesh, etc. His references to Puranic lores in his poems, indicate that he was well conversant with the Hindu scriptures. His partial adherence to the Pranami faith, has not lessened his devotion to the vedic deities.[21] He could not also rise above the superstitions of the age and believed in black magic, had *Darshans* of the Goddess in dreams and performed sacrifices to please her.[22]

Chhatrasal, however, was convinced of the existence of one Supreme God. He believed Swami Pran Nath to be a saint of great merits, with powers to confer boons, but his faith in God was deeper still. He believed that nothing happens but by the will of God and even Swami Pran Nath could have done nothing for him, unless it had the sanction of the divine will.[23]

21 Strangely enough, no mention to Pranami faith or its tenets has been made by Chhatrasal either in the letters or in his poetic compositions though references to Pran Nath are available.
(P.R. 46, 50, 76).
For Chhatrasal and his relations with Pran Nath, see Chapter Eight.

22 P.R. 40, 61, 72, 75.

23 P.R. 50.
Once it is said, someone sent the following verse to Chhatrasal :

ओरछा के राजा, दतिया के राई।
छत्रसाल अपने मुंह, बने धनाषाई॥

("The Rajah of Orchha and the Rai of Datia are the recognised chiefs. Chhatrasal is a 'self-dubbed fool')
To this Chhatrasal replied :

सुदामा तन हेरे तौ रंक हू ते राव कीनी,
विदुर तन हेरे तौ राजा कियौ चेरे तें।
कूबरी तन हेंरे हौ सुन्दर स्वरूप दियौ,
द्रोपदी तन हेरे तौ चीर बढ़यौ टेरे तें।

His belief in one Supreme God and his close associations with Pran Nath made Chhatrasal liberal in his religious outlook. One does not come across even a single instance, when the followers of other religions were either harassed or persecuted by him. If the Muslim inhabitants fled in terror when he raided some village or town, it was only due to sheer panic of a raid, and not because he committed any excesses over them.[24] No demolition of mosque by him had ever been reported. However, even despite the teachings of Pran Nath, he could not be convinced of the fundamental unity of Islam and Hinduism, but believed in their separate identities and basic differences.[35]

कहै छत्रसाल प्रहलाद की प्रतिज्ञा राखी,
हिर्नाकुस मारयौ नेक नजर के फेरे तें।
ऐरे अभिमानी नर ! ज्ञानी भये कहा भयौ,
नामी नर होत गरुड़ गामी के हेरे तें ॥17॥

("Sudama and Bidur secured the royal splendour by His kindness. Kubri became beautiful and the saree of Draupadi acquired immeasurable length by His will. He kept the words of Prahlad and killed Hirnakush. What if you are learned ! A man acquires true greatness by the benevolence of Garud Gami (Vishnu—the rider of Garud".)
(Ch. Gr. p. 7-8 verse 17).

24 Once it was reported that Sheikhjadas fled when Chhatrasal raided Panwari and Rath. (Akh. 17 November 1696).
But Chhatrasal was considerate to his fallen Muslim enemies and constructed graves for them. One such grave was made for one Sher Afghan who fought in the valley of Panna with Hirde Sah and was killed in 1729 A.D. (Sam. 1786).
(P.R. 82).

25 In one of his verse Chhatrasal citing the example of Ghori and Prithvi Raj Chauhan remarks that Prithvi Raj foolishly released Ghori several times, but when the latter once got the former in his power, he made him blind. He then concludes :

दोउ दीन को बैर, आदि अंतहि चलि आयौ।
कहि नृप छता, विचार कियौ अपुनी मन-भायौ ॥7॥

("The enemity between the two religions is deep-rooted. Chhatrasal says, act according to your discretion.")
Ch. Gr. p. 76 Verse 7.

VI

Concluding Remarks

The foregoing pages reveal Chhatrasal to be a man of versatile genius. He could organise armies, conduct battles, lead expeditions and compose verses with equal zest. They also prove conclusively that Chhatrasal was inspired by high ideals of patriotism and independence. His burning hatred for the Mughals would not make him yield, either to the sober counsel of Subh Karan to give up his thoughts of starting an anti-Mughal struggle in Bundelkhand, or to the pressure and threats of the Mughal *Faujdars* and generals. Even his slender resources could not deter him from challenging the might of the remorseless Alamgir. His patriotism was, as his armour, his amulet, which carried him safely and uninjured through perilous ventures, in which a slip meant complete extinction and an error of judgement would have hurled him down to immeasurable depths. Chhatrasal braved all the dangers courageously, with his eyes ever fixed on the pole-star of liberty and his heart firmly set on the realisation of his noble ideals. His tenacity of purpose, aided by Emperor Aurangzib's occupations elsewhere (in Rajputana and the Deccan) and his reactionary anti-Hindu policy, which were nothing less than heaven-sent opportunities to Chhatrasal contributed to his ultimate success.

By sheer dint of his merits Chhatrasal had risen from the humble position of the son of a petty fief holder of Orchha[26] to the founder of an independent kingdom, which comprised nearly the whole of eastern Bundelkhand and overshadowed the possessions of all other Bundela chiefs, including those of Orchha, Datia and Chanderi. He had started his precarious career of independence with five horse and twenty-five foot and with practically no resources whatsoever. He had not even a foothold in his country. But when he died, he was the master of a sufficiently large kingdom, his forces numbered in tens of thousands and his revenues and treasures were counted in

26 P.R. 62. Chhatrasal makes a reference to the jagir which was assigned to Champat Rai by the chiefs of Orchha, and which he subsequently returned.

crores. To acquire all this, Chhatrasal had to wage a strenuous struggle for about half a century, with fluctuating fortunes, but in the end, he emerged triumphant and had at last the satisfaction of seeing the disappearance of Mughal authority from his country.

Just at the beginning of his career Chhatrasal had the singular good fortune of coming into contact with the two great Hindu heroes of the day, Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Chhatrapati Shivaji. The latter captured Chhatrasal's imagination by his dazzling achievements and nobleness of purpose. The meeting of Chhatrasal with Shivaji was an event of great importance in the history of Bundelkhand, as it gave to the land the most illustrious name of which it may justly be proud.

The careers of Shivaji and Chhatrasal offer many points of similarity. Both were the sons of petty *Jagirdars* and had risen to prominence by their own individual efforts. Both had a common enemy to contend with, and both received the support of a roused people goaded into action by the anti-Hindu policy of Aurangzib. If Shivaji had Swami Ramdas to inspire and advise, Chhatrasal had also found in Swami Pran Nath a teacher and guide But Shivaji, however, was the greater genius of the two, in every respect. His qualities as a general and administrator were superior to those of Chhatrasal, his achievements greater and his edifice more imposing and permanent. It was really he who inspired Chhatrasal by his words and example to start the anti-Mughal war in Bundelkhand. Chhatrasal took his first lessons in statecraft at the feet of Shivaji. What the latter accomplished in the Deccan, the former sought to emulate in Bundelkhand, and though the measure of success attained by the two was different, yet the aspirations, which inspired them were basically the same.

The fact, that Chhatrasal served at frequent intervals under Aurangzib and was more or less in regular imperial service after the death of the latter (20 February 1707) till his wars with Bangash, does not detract a whit from his achievements. He had the shrewdness to discern the consequences of a long drawn struggle with the Mughals, who had at their disposal the resources of the whole empire, while his own, were limited to only a part of Bundelkhand even which was mostly unproductive. Then the hostility of the neighbouring chiefs of Datia,

Orchha and Chanderi, was also to be reckoned with. Here it will be well to remember, that Chhatrasal would have got himself battered beyond recognition, had he not the sagacity and prudence to change his policies according to the dictates of the times, as is evinced by his more than one submission to the imperial authority. Discretion is not cowardice and temerity is not valour. Service under Mughals was a compulsion, rather than an ambition with Chhatrasal, which is quite apparent from his frequently joining the imperial standards and then soon afterwards deserting them in order to resume his struggle. No one belittles the achievements of the Great Shivaji for his submission to the superior resources and generalship of Mirza Raja Jai Singh. On the contrary his prudence and statesmanship have rightly received universal approval. Then how the claims of Chhatrasal to be regarded as the great fighter for Bundela liberty be waived aside on the most flimsy pretext of his joining the Mughals at intervals ? Chhatrasal's genuine ambition to free his country from the Mughal yoke is now an established fact and his remarkable success in this patriotic venture has been acknowledged by no less an eminent historian than Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, who most judiciously observes, "His long life of 81 years ended in 1731 with the complete effacement of Mughal rule in Bundelkhand.[27]

But the greatest testimonial to the achievements of Chhatrasal is the respect, almost religious in its nature, which his name still inspires in the hearts of the common people of Bundelkhand. He has been turned into a demi-God[28] and his memorial at Dhuvela[29], still attracts pilgrims from distant parts of

27 Aur. V. p. 391.

28 The following couplet is quite popular in Bundelkhand :

कृष्ण, मुहम्मद, देवचन्द, प्राणनाथ छत्रसाल ।
इन पंचन की जो भणै, दुख हरे तत्काल ॥

("Devotion to these five, viz. Krishna, Muhammad, Dev Chandra, Pran Nath and Chhatrasal, provides immediate relief from distress.")

29 Dhuvela is one mile from Mau Sahaniya, on the side of Dhuvela reservior. Mau Sahaniya is four miles south of Nowgong and eight miles north of Chhatarpur, in Madhya Pradesh. There are two memorials of Chhatrasal at Dhuvela. The one was built by Hirde Sah and Jagat Raj about Sam. 1789 (1732 A.D.) and the construction of the other was

Bundelkhand and abroad.[30]

VII

Chhatrasal's Place in History

What was Maharaja Chhatrasal Bundela after all? It may be said that he was only a robber writ large, an obstinate rebel and founder of a principality. But this is not the whole truth, but rather a common trait that he shares with Shivaji and Ranjit Singh. However, Chhatrasal was a lesser luminary than Shivaji shinning like the moon in borrowed light in the political sky of India. Chhatrasal cannot claim to be a nation-builder like Shivaji and Ranjit Singh; nor did he leave behind any administrative institutions that give permanence to a kingdom. His administration was rather a make-shift affair, an indifferent imitation of the Mughal and Maratha system of administration. He created at best a short-lived war State on the stinking caracass of the Mughal Empire. This too would have suffered extinction had not Muhammad Khan Bangash been handicapped by the court intrigues at Delhi. Chhatrasal and his principality were saved by the Marathas only to be dismembered and swallowed up a few years later. Wherein, then, lies Chhatrasal's title to fame as a saviour of the independence of Bundelkhand ? Even the effete Mughal Government could claim more Bundela chiefs fighting under its banner than those against it. His jealous Bundela neighbours though cowed down by him for a while wished at heart his destruction at the hands of the Mughals so that their profitable and degrading vassalage to the alien rule might be safe. The Bundela chiefs refused to be saved by their self-styled champion of liberty; because the extent of patriotism was much less in Bundelkhand than in Maharasthra and the vassal chiefs of Bundelkhand were more

started by Peshwa Bajirao about Sam. 1790 (1733 A.D.) which however remained incomplete. In the former memorial the 'Jama' (robe) of Chhatrasal still recieves regular offerings.

30 Those who come from other parts of India are generally Pranamis. To them Chhatrasal is next in importance after Pran Nath. Devotion to him is also considered essential for the spiritual attainments.

strongly entrenched in power than the pro-Mughal feudal nobility and petty chiefs of Maharashtra swept out of existence by the strong current of national patriotism generated by the achievements and character of Shivaji. So one might say that Chhatrasal was only a meteor like Santa and Dhana of Maharashtra, to use Sir Jadunath's metaphor, "leaving behind only a trail of smoke."

There is a deeper significance of Chhatrasal's life than what we can comprehend from documents, written chronicles and laudatory poems. People have long forgotten that Chhatrasal was a "sal" (splinter) in the heart of Aurangzib; but they still cling to memory as a semi-divinity enshrined in legend, which after all embalms the soul of history in unhistorical ointment. To his age and his people Chhatrasal was not a mere trail of ominous smoke but a steadfast evening star of hope shining in solitary grandeur when all else was darkness and despair beneath the shadow of the Vindhya mountains. No doubt Chhatrasal looted and plagued a portion of the Bundela people also. But this was only to prick them to a political consciousness and cure them of the ills of long servitude that had cast a pleasing and false spell upon them. Though Chhatrasal could not directly unite Bundelkhand and its people under his own banner, he indirectly saved the semblance of independent existence of other ruling families of Bundelkhand. But for him they would have been wiped off by Aurangzib and his successors on one pretext or another.

Chhatrasal's resistance to the determined efforts of the redoubtable Bangash saved Bundelkhand from falling under the fanatical and galling yoke of Pathan tribesmen. Had Chhatrasal succumbed, Bundelkhand would have become a second Rohilkhand colonised by the Afghans of Mau-Shamsabad and Sambhal-Moradabad. The Marathas came just in time to save the indigenous people of Bundelkhand from such a terrible fate.

Chhatrasal's greatness should not be appraised by his actual achievements, which any bandit chief might have achieved, but by his idealism and his influence on the prostrate spirit of the people of Bundelkhand.

It was Chhatrasal who raised the Bundelas in the estimation of their proud Mughal foes. Prior to the times of Chhatrasal

the Bundelas were designated as thieves and robbers or at best unreliable mercenaries. But since their valour, steadfastness and skill were proved on many a field fought under the banner of Chhatrasal, the Bundelas were prized everywhere as valuable and trusted allies free from the odium that clung to their ancestors.

To his countrymen, Chhatrasal dead appeared as a more powerful force than Chhatrasal alive. This, to our mind, is the sure test of a great historical personage that deserves well of his country and his people.

Appendix 5

Date of Chhatrasal's Death

The date given in Tarikh-Muhammadi (15 Jamadilakhar H. 1144, Sat. 4 December, 1731 A.D.) is not very different from the traditional date which is Pus Badi 3, Sam. 1788 Sunday 5 December 1731). The day of week on this day according to tradition was Friday, which is obviously wrong. It is said that in the evening of Pus Badi 3, 1788, Chhatrasal disappeared from the garden and his body could never be traced. His robe, which was found lying on a platform, is still preserved in his memorial at Dhuvela (about 5 milles south of Nowgong in Vindhya Pradesh). The traditional date may be the cremation date (दाग तिथि), which is generally the following day, if the death occurs very late in the evening or late at night. Thus, it is not at all difficult to reconcile the date given by Tarikhi-Muhammadi, with the traditional date of Chhatrasal's death.

The only difficulty in accepting the date of his death as given by Tarikh-i-Muhammadi is the fact that the last letter (P.R. 88) said to have been written by Chhatrasal to his son, Hirde Sah, is dated pus Badi 14 Sam. 1788 (Thursday 16 December 1731). In a letter (P.R. 89) written by Jagat Raj to Hirde Sah dated 30 December 1731 (Pus Sudi 13 Sam. 1788) Jagat Raj indirectly refers to the death of Chhatrasal by the words "now that we have become Rajahs." (अपन दोउ—राजा कहाये). This letter also confirms that Chhatrasal had died sometime in December 1731. However, in view of the fact that the dates of some letters of Chhatrasal are not necessarily accurate and not always reliable, here too the date of the death of Chhatrasal as given in Tarikh-i-Muhammadi and almost fully confirmed by the tradition has been accepted as the correct date of Chhatrasal's death.

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1. Panna Records

The originals of all these documents are preserved in the archives of the Panna State and their microfilms are available in the National Archives of India, New Delhi, under the title "Manuscripts from Jhansi."

The major part of these documents consists of the letters of Chhatrasal (written in Bundelkhandi) which throw light on his early carrer and struggles, his relations with the later Mughals and the Marathas, and his administration. A few yield meagre information about his family life and relations with his sons. Those letters of Chhatrasal which deal with his early career, were written fifty or sixty years after the occurrence of the events narrated in them. Therefore, the accuracy as to the time and details is often missed in them. They bear the impress of the fading memory of Chhatrasal and exhibit his love for self-glorification. The chief importance of these letters, however, lies in the fact that they, together with the information supplied by contemporary Persian Akhbarats and chronicles, they establish the historicity of *Chhatra Prakash.*

The letters written by the sons of Chhatrasal are only thirteen in number. The two letters written by Padam Singh and Bhartichand are acknowledgments of land grants made to them. The letters of Jagat Raj eleven in all, are addressed to Hirde Sah and Sabha Singh. They either relate to the partition of kingdom of Chhatrasal or lay down mutual terms of cooperation and agreements.

Then, letters and documents mostly in the nature of agreements between Peshwa Bajirao, Baji Bhivrao and the sons of Chhatrasal (Hirde Sah and Jagat Raj) form another important part of these Panna records. The Mughal Farmans included in this collection throw light on the relations of Chhatrasal with the Later Mughals. There are also a few communications to Chhatrasal received from the Bundela Chiefs of Datia, Orchha and Chanderi. All of them are agreements making solemn pledges of mutual assistance and leaving each other undisturbed in their possessions.

2. Pranami Scriptures

The manuscripts of these scriptures are preserved in the Pran Nath temple at Panna. In order to avoid the damage to the originals by regular handling, they were copied out and these copies were put in the temple for general use. These copies are as authentic as the originals. Due to their religious sanctity, their contents were never interfered with by the transcribers, since any alteration even of a word or punctuation mark amounted to sacrilege.

These scriptures are as follows :

Kulzam(Ms). It is a collection of the teachings of Swami Pran Nath and contains the following fourteen chapters, variously written in Gujrati, Sindhi and Hindi interspersed with Persian and Arabic phrases.

Name of the Chapter or Prakaran	*Language*
1. Ras	Gujrati
*2. Prakash/Prakash	*Gujrati/Hindi
3. Khatruti	Gujrati
*4. Kalas/Kalas	*Gujrati/Hindi
5. Sanandh	Hindi
6. Kirtan	Hindi
7. Khulasa	Hindi
8. Khilwat	Hindi
9. Parkarma	Hindi

*Prakash and Kalas (2 and 4), originally written in Gujrati, were rendered into Hindi by Swami Pran Nath himself.

Name of the Chapter or Prakaran	*Language*
10. Sagar	Hindi
11. Singar	Hindi
12. Sindhi	Sindhi
13. Marfatsagar	Hindi
14. Kayamatnama	Hindi

An accurate copy of this scripture is preserved in the Amir-uddaula Library of Lucknow. Mr. Growse, probably received a copy of *Kulzam* from a Pranami named Kakar Das of Mathura and he wrote an article based on it in J.A S.B., 1879 entitled "The Sect of the Pran Nathis" (pp. 171-80). In a quarterly report on the old Hindi manuscripts of Nagari Pracharini Sabha Rai Bahadur Hiralal also made mention of a Pranami scripture named *Anjir Ras*, which contained eleven chapters of *Kulzam*. (*Nagari Pracharini Patrika*, vol. 8, pp. 474-75).

The other following scriptures are called Bitaks or Histories. They deal in detail with the lives of Dev Chandra and Pran Nath and incidentally make reference to other contemporary historical personalities (like Aurangzib, Jaswant Singh Rathore, Maharana Raj Singh and Chhatrasal, etc.) and events (such as Aurangzib's campaign in Rajputana and the early struggles of Chhatrasal with local Mughal *Faujdars*). Their subject matter is nearly the same and its treatment is so similar that save for the style and prosody no marked difference is to be found among them.

Lal Das Bitak (*Ms*). It is written by Lal Das who was a disciple of Pran Nath. His original name was Laxman and he joined Pran Nath at Thatta. The available copy of the work was transcribed by one Manohar Das in Panna in Sam. 1948 (1891 A.D.)

Hansraj Bitak or Mehraj Charitra (*Ms*). It is written by Hansraj, who was made Bakhshi by Hirde Sah, the son of Chhatrasal. He began the work in Sam. 1803 (1746 A.D.). The available copy of the work was done in Sam. 1808 (1751 A.D.) by one Gosain Pardaun Das from the one in the possession of the ruler of Panna.

Brijbhushan Bitak or Britant Muktavali (*Printed*). The work is said to have been written about Sam. 1755 (1608 A.D.). The author Brijbhushan was a disciple of Chhatrasal.

The Other Scriptures

Naurangji or Mukund Das-Ki-Bani (*Ms*). Mukund Das was also a disciple of Pran Nath. The available copy in Pran Nath temple at Panna was transcribed in Sam. 1862 (1805 A.D.) at Garhakota by Pradyumn Das. Besides containing biographical details about Dev Chandra and Pran Nath, it also contains discourses on Pranami sect.

I am told that a disciple of Mukund Das or Naurang named Bahurang, also wrote a Bitak, which however was not available.

Mastana-Ka-Panchak. Mastana was a Muslim disciple of Pran Nath. The verses contained in his work are virtually a Hindi rendering of the teachings of Pran Nath. Parts of this scripture are published under the title *Panchak Prakash*.

Jaipur Hindi Records (*Sita Mau*). The volumes II, III and V of these records contain some letters from the Rajahs of Bundelkhand (Chhatrasal, Hirde Sah, Udot Singh of Orchha and Ram Chandra of Datia) to Sawai Jai Singh, which yield important information about the early stages of Bangash Bundela wars (1721-1725 A.D.). They also exhibit the great influence, which Sawai Jai Singh exercised over these chiefs.

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4. *Padishah Namah* of Abdul Hamid Lahori. It is the principal history for the first twenty years of the reign of Emperor Shahjahan. It provides detailed information about the rebellions of Jujhar Singh and Champat Rai.

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